The new philanthropy and smallholder farmers' livelihoods

A case study of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) in the northern region of Ghana

Sumaila Asuru

MSc, B.Ed., PGDip

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ABSTRACT

Sumaila Asuru

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Keywords: Poverty reduction, livelihoods, AGRA, philanthropy, rural development, Northern Ghana

The new philanthropy is increasingly seen as a panacea and an alternative source of global development finance for rural development, especially in developing countries. The theoretical underpinning of the new philanthropy entails the idea that the private sector, led by philanthropists and civil society organisations in social policy issues can lead to more effective outcomes through partnership. The existing literature on the new philanthropy mainly focuses on its economic or commercial impact. This is particularly the case in the rural parts of Ghana; there has been very little research on the new philanthropy's impact on the livelihoods of the poorest segments of society. Therefore, this research investigates the impact of new philanthropy on the livelihoods of smallholder farmers in Northern Ghana in order to fill the gap. The study employed ethnographic research, utilising qualitative techniques involving 20 stakeholders in philanthropy and livelihood affairs and 100 smallholder farmers.

The research findings suggest that there is a significant relationship between philanthropic sponsored interventions in Ghana and an increase in smallholder farmers' yields. The few farmers who purchased improved seeds and other agricultural inputs registered significant increases. However, this study identified some bottlenecks inhibiting access to agricultural inputs by smallholder farmers. Majority of smallholder farmers revealed that they could not afford them (seeds, chemical fertilizer and other inputs) despite the subsidies. Furthermore, rainfall variability gives rise to fluctuating food production from one season to another; meanwhile, there is a lack of strategy from philanthropic practitioners to address the variability in rainfall. Through philanthropy, other methods of faming such as

irrigation farming agroecology, and permaculture could be exploited to the benefits of smallholder farmers.

The outcomes of this study have policy implications for philanthropic practitioners. This study shows that the failure to involve farmers directly in decisions that affect their livelihoods is a major cause of livelihood interventionist programme failures in Ghana. Thus, this study argues that understanding the socioeconomic dynamics in the Northern Region and amongst the farmers should be an important part of policy formulation for philanthropic involvements seeking to improve livelihood of smallholder farmers. Lastly, the study called for a separate policy framework for philanthropy that would have a key objective of mobilising private philanthropic resources to support steady economic growth and sustainable development, dealing directly with recipients.

DEDICATION

To My Wife

Bukari Rukaya Chounwie

And

Children

Nmawisi Asuru-Basinbuo

Farawia Asuru-Basinbuo

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ACRONYMS

ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
ADVANCE	Agricultural Development and Value Chain Enhancement
AGRA	Alliance for Green Revolution in Africa
AVCF	Agricultural Value Chain Facility
AVCMP	Agricultural Value Chain Mentorship Project
BMGF	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research-
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FBO	Farmer Based Organization
FGD	Focus group discussions
GAABIC	Ghana Agricultural Association's Business Information Centre
GADD	Ghana Agro-Dealer Development
G-LPAN	Ghana Land Policy Action Node
GLSS	Ghana Living Standard Survey
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
HTA	Hometown Associations
HYV	High Yielding Varieties (of seeds)
IFDC	International Fertilizer Development Center
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISFM	Integrated Soil Fertility Management
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
METASIP	Medium Term Agricultural Sector Development Plan

MMDA	Metropolitan, Municipal and Districts Assemblies
MoFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission of Ghana
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAMSCAD	Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment
PASS	Program for Africa's Seed System
SADA	Savannah Accelerated Development Authority
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SARI	Savanna Agricultural Research Institute
SHP	Soil Health Project
SME	Small- and Medium-sized Enterprises
SRL	Sustainable Rural Livelihood
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSS	Savannah Seeds Services
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNO	United Nation Organisation
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The thesis questions the impact of the new philanthropy on the livelihoods of smallholder farmers in Northern Ghana. The new philanthropy, led by philanthropic foundations focused on Ghana over the past decade, has encompassed all aspects of the global development agenda and beyond; their funding focused on Ghana totalled $499 million between 2002 and 2012 (SDGfunders 2015). While a few foundations intentionally aligned their grant-making priorities with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), over half of the grants made by 151 foundations in a sum of $394 supported activities consistent with at least one of the eight (MDGs) (Ibid).

However, this nearly half a billion inflows since 2002 has had little impact on the country's socioeconomic development, and few of the benefits of the resources have reached the poor, who live largely in rural villages and who constitute the vast majority of Ghana's population. Inequality still exists and concerns have arisen about the quality of services, with poverty remaining constant and endemic in northern Ghana while income differentials swell between urban and rural communities as well as between the rich and the poor. Cooke and Hague (2016) argue that inequality has risen substantially from the 1990s when children were only 15 percent more likely to be poor than adults in Ghana. In questioning the role of philanthropic interventions in the livelihoods of poor smallholder farmers, the thesis demonstrates how the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), an organization created by the joint contributions of the Rockefeller and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundations works in

practice at the village level to make an impact on livelihood. It focused on the core activities of AGRA in safeguarding the livelihoods of poor smallholder farmers in Northern Ghana.

A handful of the literature available on Philanthropy in Ghana suggests that philanthropic foundations, in particular, are capable of influencing the development endeavours of the country in a way that is decisive for the country's economic future. But the debate in this regard is mainly focused on the economic or commercial impact of philanthropy, which does not look at the real issues of inequality and vulnerability. Economic growth is often viewed as a key driver of poverty reduction, and the few available studies have focused primarily on the income levels of poor people (Orozco and Garcia-Zanello 2008; Alhassan 2009; Lui 2012).

This thesis argues that, apart from addressing the broad issues of neo-liberalism and its hegemonic agenda, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF), for example through AGRA, can widen the scope of funding operations, dealing with the real issues such making inputs available and affordable and giving greater attention to irrigation farming. The Ministry of Agriculture maintains that agriculture in Ghana is predominantly on a smallholder farmer basis in Ghana and about 90% of farm holdings are less than 2 hectares in size (Chamberlin 2008). This category of farmers must be put at the centre of development and their needs must be put at the centre of the 'revolution' for poverty reduction, respect for local knowledge and capacities, and social accountability to the community. For philanthropic resources to be beneficial to large numbers of smallholder farmers, a lot of factors about farmers' perspectives must be considered. The failures by policy makers to involve farmers in decisions that affect their livelihoods before such decisions were made have been

the major cause of many programme failures in Ghana. This thesis agrees with the argument by Bourdieu (1998) that the roots of poverty and livelihood constraints are situated in the fundamental structures of societies where wealth distribution is unequal, which are difficult to change by means of philanthropic activities alone.

The term 'new philanthropy' refers to a variety of late-twentieth-century developments, including the significant growth of individual giving in the 1990s, and the creation of new foundations all over the world (Cobb 2002). It also includes the rise of such new funding mechanisms as charitable gift funds and, the expansion of community foundations, and the emergence of the new philanthropy (ibid). The new philanthropists consider their philanthropy in the same way as other investments, with increased attention paid to the performance of projects and their impact on other potential social investments. The application of business techniques and principles to philanthropy drives the way in which venture capital or private equity is used to help reduce poverty. Various labels are used to depict new philanthropy, including 'venture philanthropy', 'entrepreneurial philanthropists', 'strategic philanthropy' and 'philanthrocapitalists' (Bishop and Green 2008).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

A number of factors are responsible for my interest in philanthropy and the livelihoods of poor people. As a national of a lower middle-income country like Ghana, I have an adequate appreciation and understanding of poverty as a condition in which about 6.4 million Ghanaians live. I therefore, have a personal commitment to understanding how poverty could be reduced. Another huge influence in my interest hinges on my exposure to conceptual issues in the arena of poverty

reduction strategies during my postgraduate degree in Development and Economic Studies.

Agriculture in Ghana is predominantly on a smallholder-farming basis; it is the spine of Ghana's economy. The agricultural sector is basically responsible for achieving the first-millennium development goal of halving the proportion of the population suffering from hunger. About 90% of farm holdings are less than two hectares in size, although there are some large farms and plantations, particularly for rubber, oil palm and coconut and to a lesser extent, rice, maize and pineapples. Ghana's smallholder farmers are isolated, and this makes the provision of support services expensive and ineffective (Chamberlin 2008).

The theory of fragmentation comes into play here; one could argue that in a developing country like Ghana the process of fragmentation has indirectly strengthened the factors, which affect smallholder farmers' livelihoods (Calfat and Rivas 2008). Earnings in smallholder farming depend also on the type of product, and on the production stage, the country is involved in (Calfat and Rivas 2008). For example, one could think about a developing economy whose manufacturing sector participates in a worldwide, fragmented chain of production essentially through assembly activities. If the good produced by this economy is typified as *parts and components*, i.e. it is used as an intermediate by other industries, and then its production involves at least some skilled labour (ibid).

Production is also largely rain-fed with limited mechanization and the inadequate use of improved technologies such as high and stable yielding crop varieties, good agricultural practices, fertilizers, and other agricultural inputs. These among many other things have contributed to the observed low levels of productivity (ibid).

Cereals are the major crops of importance to the agricultural sector in Ghana. The most important food crops in northern Ghana are maize, rice, sorghum, pearl millet, cassava, groundnut, cowpea and soybean (Martey et al. 2013).

With about 6.4 million of the Ghanaian proportion still living in poverty, several social actors and agencies began to devise a series of modules in an attempt to combat inequality through improved livelihoods. The new philanthropy happens to be one such vehicle that philanthropists throughout the world are using to provide support to the most vulnerable worldwide. The new philanthropy is an aspect of philanthropy which hinges on its broader spectrum: it is more global in nature, as players within the domain of this form of philanthropy back ideals with a focus on measurable results and constantly demand results from benefactors (Byrne 2002). The main players in the arena of the new philanthropy are philanthropic foundations. As will be explained in chapter two, the proponents of the new philanthropy argue that the new philanthropy has the potential to make more effective use of scarce resources than either individual donors or the government. Free from political pressures, foundations can explore new solutions to social problems with independence that government could never have (Porter and Kramer 1999). Yet other critics argue that philanthropic foundations' involvement in livelihood improvement initiatives has the potential to dilute the tradition, culture and values of the people by steering the development discourse in the path of the dominant knowledge of the West, marginalizing traditional local knowledge once more (Alhassan 2009; Aidoo 2012).

The Northern Region of Ghana was chosen because, as will be seen, it has the largest area of "available" land in the country. It is also home to some 450,000-smallholder farmers whose livelihoods depend on the land they cultivate and who

are also the poorest of the poor in the country (Bugri 2012). The region has been described by Bugri et al (2008) as an area faced with poor and declining agricultural production, increasing environmental degradation and out-migration of the youth to the south of Ghana in search of sustainable livelihoods. Yakubu (2011) estimated that over 1.2 million Ghanaians are food insecure, 10% of this number hails from the Northern Region of Ghana. The region is, thus, inundated with high levels of food insecurity and poverty. About 80% of the population of the region depends on subsistence and smallholding agriculture with very low productivity and low farm income (MoFA 2010). Subsistence agriculture is still pronounced throughout the entire country, as it accounts for 35% of GDP and employs 55% of the workforce (Ghana Statistical Service 2013).

In the Northern Region, among the many AGRA interventionist projects in Ghana today is the Agricultural Value Chain Mentorship Project (AVCMP). As will be discussed in more detail in chapters four and five, the AVCMP, which was jointly funded by the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and AGRA, has the main goal of contributing toward the government of Ghana's objectives to achieve food security and become an agro-industrial economy by strengthening the capacity of agro-dealers to empower smallholder farmers (AGRA 2013a).

Whilst government, philanthropists, and philanthropic foundations perceive philanthropy as important significant and independent gap fillers, there is no evidence to support the view that philanthropic initiatives in rural villages have meaningfully led to improvement in the livelihoods of smallholder farmers. This study into the new philanthropy and smallholder farmers' livelihoods is therefore significant, having the aim of analysing the role of the new philanthropy in smallholder farmers'

livelihoods in the Northern Region of Ghana (Sonne 2010; Al-Hassan and Poulton 2009). In support of its originality and contribution to knowledge, the study considers the role of philanthropy in livelihood improvements in the context of the Northern Region and Ghana and subsequently contributes knowledge to the wider 'Pro-Poor Philanthropy' debate (ibid). Focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews were used to collect data on perceptions of philanthropy from farmers. Inevitably, this constitutes a subjective approach to the understanding of philanthropy, as the people are allowed to define what philanthropy is and give their own account of philanthropic interventions and their effect on their personal livelihoods. Again, focus group discussions allowed the researcher to gather the general views, emotions, feelings and beliefs of interviewees.

1.3 Current Research on Philanthropy in Ghana

There are few studies regarding philanthropy and poverty reduction in Ghana as per the literature reviewed. Orozco and Garcia-Zanello (2008) carried out a study entitled 'Hometown Associations (HTAs): Transnationalism, Philanthropy, and Development'. The study found that the activities of Ghanaian citizens' HTAs based in the Netherlands known as Sankofa Foundation have been very active in raising funds for development back home in Ghana. With the support of their partners in the Netherlands, they raised funds for local NGOs in Ghana, allowing them to pursue economic activities in the fields of agriculture, education, micro-financing and other income-generating projects in rural communities. Also, in an attempt to answer the question: what does it mean to fund the emancipation of the post-colonial nation on the philanthropic whim? Alhassan (2009), using Ghana and Uganda as case studies, illustrates how philanthropic aid has transformed the post-colonial state into an

instrument of tutelary governance, and invites development communication scholars to question the discursive and performative functions of international development assistance. In addition, Martey et al. (2013) did a study on fertilizer adoption and its use among smallholder farmers in Northern Ghana. Their research concludes that participation in agricultural development project does not necessarily lead to increase in the adoption and use intensity of fertilizer.

Similarly, Lui (2012) examines various types of funding mechanisms carried out by philanthropic organizations in both Ghana and Nigeria including traditional grant-making models in contrast to philanthropic projects through venture capital and impact investment approaches. The study demonstrates that Ghana's economic and employment environment far exceeds that of Nigeria because of the influence of impact and market-oriented philanthropic activities taking place in Ghana.

Finally, Ahmad Bello (2009) discusses the role of Zakah and Waqf institutions in poverty alleviation among the Muslim Ummah in Ghana based on a survey of relevant literature, with a view to adding to existing literature and synthesizing opposing views on the socioeconomic role of Zakah and Waqf, Islamic forms of charity, and the process of their revitalisation in modern times. In the Islamic law, the word Zakah refers to the determined share of wealth prescribed by Allah to be distributed among the categories of those needy people entitled to receive it (Ahmad Bello 2009). The paper posits that Zakah serves as a unique mechanism of mandatory transfers of income and wealth from the haves to the have-nots in the community and that through Zakah, every individual in the society is assured of a minimum means of livelihood, which provides a social security system in Islamic society.

1.3.1 Research Gap and Justification

There is an absence of research on the new philanthropy and livelihoods of the poorest sections of society. It is very important that we explore the significant contributions of philanthropy towards improving the conditions of smallholder farmers, smallholder farmers' understanding of philanthropy, and the relationship that exists between philanthropic organisations and smallholder farmers. This thesis is therefore designed to help fill this knowledge gap. It examines and attempts to offer an improved understanding of the real nature of philanthropic engagements with smallholder farming communities in Ghana, focusing on the AGRA and its protests in the northern part of the country. There is very little literature on philanthropy and livelihood improvement in Ghana. Also, the status and views of smallholder farmers regarding philanthropy have not been explored, and therefore the results of this research have the potential to contribute to indigenous knowledge in Ghana. The second issue is the fact that the above studies on the livelihoods of poor people are typically tailored from the 'top-down' in conceptualisation. This thesis puts smallholder farmers at the centre of the 'revolution' for rural development, respecting local knowledge and the capacities of poor and vulnerable groups of individuals in the society. Also, the new philanthropy is increasingly seen as a panacea and an alternative source of global development finance for rural development, especially in developing countries. Therefore, the thesis explored the significant contributions of philanthropy towards improving the conditions of smallholder farmers. Table 1.1 below summarizes the available studies on philanthropy in Ghana.

Table 1.1: Map of Research on Philanthropy in Ghana

Researcher	Year	Main Issues	Main stakeholder	Analysis Level	Study Area
Martey et al.	(2013)	Fertilizer Adoption and Use Intensity Among Smallholder Farmers in northern Ghana	Local Government	Grassroots-Centric	AGRA Soil Health Project in northern Ghana.
Hilber	(2008)	Explored Diasporic Philanthropy in the Migration-Development Nexus (COMCAD, 2008 (Working Papers)	Central and Local Government	Elite and State Centric	A Study of Ghanaian migrants in Bielefeld
Aidoo	2012	The Impact of Philanthropy in Rural Development in Ghana	Central and Local Government	Combinations of state and Grassroots-Centric	Individual foreign philanthropies and traditional authorities
Lui	(2012)	Demonstrates how philanthropic activities can promote economic development and sustain international peace and security using Ghana and Nigeria as case studies.	Central and Local Government	Elite and State Centric	The role of philanthropic organizations in promoting development and economic development abroad.
Alhassan	(2009)	Assesses the dependence on philanthropic aid in Ghana and Uganda demonstrates that development aid has transformed the postcolonial state	Central Government	Elite and State Centric	The cost of international development assistance on the instrumentality of the postcolonial state as an agent of national development
Bello	(2009)	Discusses the role of Zakah and Waqf institutions in poverty alleviation among Muslim Ummah in Ghana	Central and Local Government	Combinations of state and Grassroots-Centric	Poverty Alleviation through Zakah and Waqf Institutions
Orozco and Garcia-Zanello	2008	Carried out a scientific study on the Hometown Associations: Transnationalism, Philanthropy, and Development is concerned Ghanaian communities in Europe	Central and Local Government	Elite and State Centric	Individual migrant associations abroad and their collective contribution back home
This Research	2016	Explores the role of philanthropy on livelihoods in Ghana	Central and Local Government	Combinations of state and Grassroots-Centric	AGRA and its interventions in rural villages of Ghana

Source: Author's Construct

1.4 Objectives and Questions

As mentioned already, this study explores the contributions of the new philanthropy towards improving the condition of smallholder farmers in Sub-Saharan African, smallholder farmers' understanding of philanthropy and investigates the relationship that exists between philanthropy and smallholder farmers. The research is designed to uncover the needs and drivers of both philanthropy and smallholder farmers in relation to their interaction and the fulfilment of the philanthropic contract they have entered into. Its focus is the involvement of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in rural development and poverty reduction in Ghana. Since 2006, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (Gates Foundation) has dedicated $1.7 billion to assisting smallholder farmers. The bulk of this investment has been delivered through programmes associated with the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), which is also supported by the Rockefeller Foundation (Thompson 2012).

1.4.1 Research Questions

Despite attempts to devise an explanatory model for the new philanthropy and development, there is still a lack of research and understanding of the issues. This is partly because explanatory paradigms between philanthropy and development are tenuous and there is little empirical evidence other than at a macro level. While policy makers now stress the importance of understanding the relationship between the new philanthropy and development, analyses of the way in which the new philanthropy impacts smallholder farmers to date have been fairly limited and are often vague and inconsistent. The topic is therefore very poorly theorised. This research also contributes to the debate on the philanthropic impacts on the

livelihoods of smallholder farmers ethnographically. The two main research questions guiding this thesis are:

1. To what extent do new philanthropy interventions improve the livelihoods of smallholder farmers?

2. Does involvement in philanthropy contribute to an increase in yields for smallholder farmers?

The specific objectives of this research are presented below.

1.4.2 Research Objectives

Following to the research questions of this thesis, the research objectives are presented as follows:

- To critically analyse how philanthropy is conceptualised by local people
- To evaluate philanthropy's contribution to poverty reduction in Ghana
- To determine the role that smallholder farmers think philanthropy can play in improving their livelihoods
- Identify key success factors as well as perceived barriers for effective partnership between philanthropic agencies and policy makers.
- To fashion out a policy and recommend it for policy makers, which strengthens the effective collaboration between philanthropic donors and recipients.

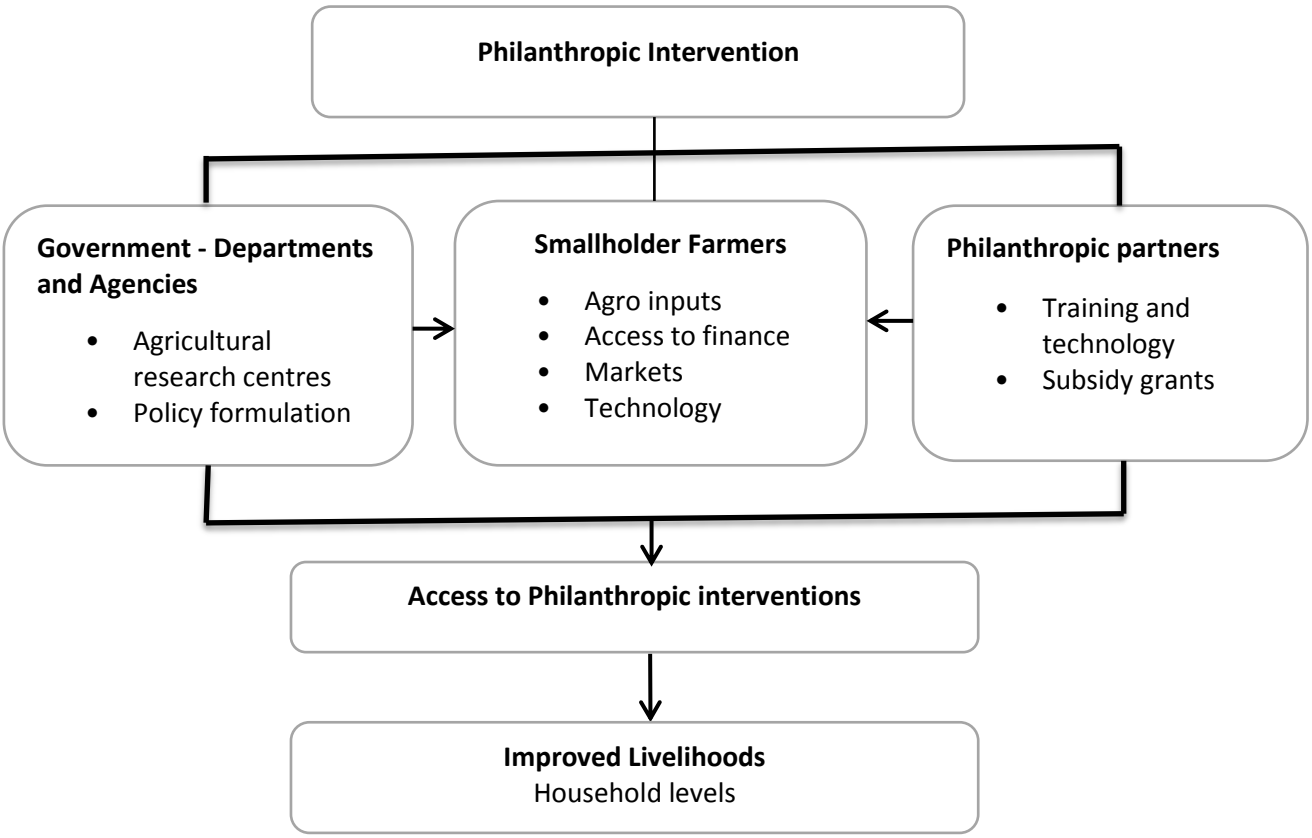
In addressing these objectives, this study placed a lot of emphasis on the actions and interactions of social actors and their engagement with diverse institutional

arrangements, (Osei-Kufuor 2012) and how these actions and relationships affect the outcome of philanthropic dealings with smallholder farmers.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

Given the conceptualization of livelihoods and philanthropy in this study, Figure 1.1 presents a diagrammatic representation of the framework that depicts the proposed relationships and intermediating issues studied in this thesis. Chapter three (3) has detailed discussions of these conceptual issues.

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework



Source: Author's Construct.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis has been divided into nine chapters. It begins with the introduction of which this sub-section is a part. Chapter two reviews the relevant literature and identifies the gaps in the conceptual underpinning of the new philanthropy and rural development. The literature review illustrates how the relevant themes have been reviewed to interlink with other concepts that have been used and included in this study. It details the overall conceptual framework of this study. Key trends in the new philanthropy are outlined, followed by a brief history and an explanation of philanthropy, the new philanthropy, livelihoods and poverty reduction.

Chapter three presents a discussion of key conceptual issues guiding this study. Conceptual information on philanthropy, livelihoods and smallholder farmers have been presented. The chapter also looked at the relevance of Ghana's developmental initiatives on the improvement of livelihoods in the country. The relationship between philanthropy, power relations and empowerment has been examined.

Chapter four examines the research methodology. It presents the philosophical orientation of the study and discusses the methods of sampling employed in the study. Chapter three further discusses the various methods used in data collection for an academic exercise such as this, how the data were analysed and the ethical issues that arose during the course of the study. It presents an evaluation of the data gathering exercise and discusses how my subjective position as a researcher was reflexively managed and not allowed to jeopardise the study.

Philanthropy and traditional institutions in Chapter five follow this. In this chapter, I develop an understanding of the experiences of the various social actors involved in

philanthropic activities and charity for livelihood improvement. I conduct an interface analysis of the relations among the various social actors. Chapter five begins with a description of the area, the social actors and the resources available; it examines the new philanthropy and traditional authority with regard to rural development (Long and Liu 2010).

Chapter six examines AGRA's initiatives with smallholder farmers in Ghana. I show key areas of AGRA's interventions in Ghana and their impacts on the livelihoods of smallholder farmers; I also assess the nature of the social, political and economic relations, which arise from the interventions, in order to establish whether the expected green revolution can be realized in terms of rural livelihoods. I argue for the widening of the scope of funding operations, dealing with the real issues such making inputs available at affordable prices and giving greater attention to irrigation farming is the way to go. Also, smallholder farmers have to be put at the centre of development and their needs put at the centre of the 'revolution' for poverty reduction, respect for local knowledge and capacities, and social accountability to the community.

Chapter seven employs the conceptual framework developed in the previous chapters to analyse the government of Ghana's position on philanthropy and the perception of philanthropy by smallholder farmers as well as organisations in partnership with AGRA in the Northern Region. This chapter also discusses smallholders' understanding of the idea of 'philanthropy', that is to say, 'a love of humankind' and a desire to promote human 'well-being' and provide relief to help address the suffering of the poor. It outlines key findings of how these groups perceive philanthropy. In doing this, the section questions the assumption that

assistance delivered through philanthropic activities can fulfil the state's responsibility in terms of poverty reduction and transformation in rural areas. It questions whether partnerships between the state and institutions that are not democratically elected and that do not fit within a robust accountability framework can fulfil this remit.

Chapter eight employs the analytical framework provided by Bourdieu's (1998) social theory of practice to examine the impact of the new philanthropy on livelihoods. Smallholder farmers' understanding of their livelihood needs, and the difficulties they often face as well as coping strategies and the solutions to their problems that they envisage are also examined. The central argument in this chapter is that Bourdieu's social theory offers a broader way to overcome the limitations of the mainstream livelihoods study and paves the way for a more critical view of recognising the role of power and politics in delivering social goods. Bourdieu's theory also perceives the roots of poverty and livelihood constraints to be situated in the fundamental structures of societies, which are difficult to change by ordinary policies.

The final chapter (chapter nine) revisits the main objectives of this study to establish how the attainment of those objectives would help in the formulation of new policies in development practice. It revisits the key findings in this thesis and reflects on how the study has contributed to the body of knowledge through recommendations and policy formulation for future practice. Lastly, new areas for future research are also suggested.

CHAPTER TWO

NEW PHILANTHROPY AND POVERTY REDUCTION DEBATE: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Philanthropy is increasingly seen as an alternative source of global development finance, and one of the solutions to the steadily declining role of Official Development Aid (ODA) (Helly 2013). Philanthropy studies and research on social entrepreneurship are developing, and more work is being done to understand its impact, which is why this study is considered very vital for the development of the discourse. Aside from private foreign direct investment, 'innovative finance' and diaspora remittances, the philanthropy sector – in its diversity – seeks to play a more significant role in Africa's development (ibid).

The government's inability to single-handedly address the problems of poverty and inequality due to budgetary constraints has prompted calls for greater collaboration between government and development partners. These limitations are often referred to as combined government and market failures (Winston 2007). A number of factors have been cited in the development literature as causes of government failures in particular (Damoah 2015). These are: corruption, undue political interference in the executions of projects, bureaucracy, lack of continuity, and lack of effective planning (ibid). These failures result in a world in which the needs of many are left unmet even though some of these include; social problems that call for immediate action. Across the developing world, states plagued by poor governance and with limited finances have failed to lead to development for all of their citizens. Within this context, alternative forms of development have been pursued, for the past decades'

philanthropic foundations and corporations have been increasingly advocated as a means through which the gulf between citizens' needs and existing services can be bridged (Morvaridi 2012; Liket 2014). Philanthropic organizations, charities and NGO's are often considered part of a neo-liberal strategy to reduce state responsibility for the provision of many services considered essential to securing livelihoods, with the devolution of responsibilities to non-state actors as a means to minimizing social expenditures. The neo-liberal strategy entails that state's dominance in a governance system and too much official development aid prevents economic and social development, while deregulation, privatization and lowering taxation are required to achieve economic growth (Revise Sociology 2015). Such a conception ostensibly depicts philanthropic non-state actors as agents of social justice that, in contributing to poverty reduction, play a role in social transformation (Morvaridi 2013).

Bishop and Green (2008) have noted that philanthropic organizations which use the same business models as profit-oriented enterprises, now have an opportunity to seek change by becoming like ‘‘activist shareholders’’, pushing for a greater focus on results, and restructuring the non-profit world to create institutions capable of delivering support to the needy in society in the midst of government failures. However, early criticisms of philanthropy, and their activities have been more concentrated in service provision than in advocacy and empowerment, Edwards (2009) maintains that while a market-based model using business acumen and management may extend access to socially and environmentally useful goods and services, its application is questionable in addressing more difficult systemic issues

of inadequate infrastructure, unequal distribution of resources, political instability, and social inequality.

In this chapter, I examine recognized definitions of philanthropy, including my own understanding of it. The history of philanthropy and the various transmogrifications that this noble discourse has gone through preceded the discussions on its meaning. Having analysed the history of philanthropy, the distinction between charity and philanthropy takes the centre stage of the of next line of the debate and the exploration of the various perspectives, leading to what others have now preferred to call the 'new philanthropy' instead of just 'philanthropy'. In the second section of this chapter, I scrutinize some key issues relative to the philanthropy discourse: the new philanthropy, and the debate on the motivations behind the new philanthropy or just philanthropy in general. The third segment sets down a short account of philanthropy in developing countries as well as the Sub Saharan African (SSA) experiences with philanthropy in order to offer a clearer background in connection with my research focus. The final bit of this chapter deals with philanthropy and poverty alleviation in general. The assessment of all these concepts as far as this chapter is concerned will invariably help in understanding philanthropic practices and their role in the international development arena.

2.2 Understanding Philanthropy

In his introduction to *Philanthropy, Patronage, and Civil Society*, Thomas Adam writes that on both sides of the Atlantic, scholars have not been able to develop a united theoretical conception of philanthropy (Adam 2004). This state of affairs has resulted in a misunderstanding of the discourse that has thrown it into much

confusion. Therefore, in an attempt to decrease this misunderstanding, Robert A. Gross classifies a characteristic form of contemporary philanthropy that appeared in the seventeenth century that “sought to apply reason to the solution of social ills and needs” through “abstract and institutional forms (Sawaya 2008). Philanthropy has a very long tradition stretching back to ancient periods with different meanings attributed to it. It has been seen as a religious duty in almost every major religion. But philanthropy has been transformed over time— the forms, concepts, and goals of nineteenth-century philanthropy, for example, varied greatly from sixteenth-century and twentieth-century philanthropy. In the view of Sawaya, philanthropy has not just become a flashpoint for discussions about liberal capitalism; it also provides a Rorschach test of sorts for reading the likelihood of disinterested or beneficent action more generally within liberal capitalism, that is, within a context, which presumes self-interestedness. On the basis of this knowledge and some sort of agreement with Sawaya, Adam argues that philanthropy can be seen as a platform between the state and the market: philanthropy plays a critical role in helping and promoting the ends of human excellence, wealth, prosperity and social co-operation in nations around the world. However, in the view of Schervish (1995), data on philanthropy from its inception show that people tend to give to causes with which they can identify and which they are physically or emotionally attached to rather than to causes or issues that perhaps truly need to be addressed. In fact, Odendahl (1990) could not agree more with Schervish: that wealthy philanthropists—who provide the bulk of philanthropic dollars—tend to give to organizations from which they or their family directly benefit, such as the symphony, the church, or their alma mater and to amenity services such as education, culture, and health.

In defining philanthropy, others have pointed the mirage of problems associated with it and the implication of these problems. One major characteristic of the modern philanthropy is the fact that the new breed of philanthropists has been seen to be circumventing the democratic process and often dictate the policies of the institutions they support (Sirota 2013). This creates a vicious cycle that undermines democratic control; big money interests use anti-democratic campaign finance laws to fund anti-tax policies that deprive public institutions of resources and control (ibid).

The precise meaning of ‘philanthropy’ is a matter of some contention within modern academic circles as portrayed by Adam and his ilk; its definition is largely dependent on the particular interests of the scholars employing the term. Nevertheless, there exist some working definitions to which the scholarly community associated with the field of “philanthropic studies” most commonly subscribes (Sulek 2010). Philanthropy is a complex concept that has many meanings and whose significance has shifted against the broader political and social backdrop against which it has played itself out. For the purposes of this brief review, only a few perspectives have been chosen and discussed.

While philanthropy's meaning and manifestations have evolved throughout history, the essence of philanthropy continues to be understood as "the act of giving money and other resources, including time, to aid individuals, causes, and organizations" Eikenberry 2006: 860). Philanthropy denotes the use of wealth by business-minded individuals on certain specific projects with the prime aim of attaining results (Breeze 2010). In the same way, Brooks et al. (2009) refers to it as a ‘desire to help others’, usually through donations of money—sometimes in amalgamation with time and effort—to ‘good causes. One of the most widely accepted definitions is the one

employed by Lester Salamon (1992), who defines philanthropy as the private philanthropic giving of time or valuables (money, security, goods, possessions) for public purposes, Salamon further goes on to characterize philanthropy as one form of income of private non-profit outfits (Sulek 2010). Lastly, Adam sees the development of society through services not provided by the state or the market, for political or economic reasons by the state, but by private philanthropists.

Philanthropy in the sense of the 'Bourdieusian' approach is an act that translates symbolic capital within an economy—such as cultural events, professional practices and family ceremonies—into economic gains. In the view of Bourdieu, philanthropy mostly involves offering all manner of assistances to causes that obviously generate rewards for the giver by either covert or overt means. 'Capital', according to Bourdieu, is a resource that provides the holder with power and advantageous positioning in social space. The uniqueness of Bourdieu's conceptualizations of philanthropy is the use of the term 'capital' in varying forms to illustrate his understanding of charitable giving in general. Bourdieu linked the qualities of capital to specific areas, thus offering rational analysis. Types of capitals include: *economic or financial* (money, wealth and resources), *social* (networks or knowing influential people), *cultural* (linguistic and articulating on behalf of others), and *symbolic* (status). All these types are all geared towards the larger benefit of the giver (Morvaridi 2012), where the giver often receives tax exemptions and publicity. Bourdieu again makes the point that individual donors and status groups will always employ strategies to create symbolic distinctions, in order to develop their own personal and collective prestige, authority and power.

A Bourdieuvian interpretation of philanthropy also involves anthropological and psychoanalytic analysis. Several scholars have written on philanthropy either agreeing with the views espoused by Bourdieu or disagreeing with him; some have also proffered different alternatives. For instance, Nasaw (2007), who happens to be one of the key writers on philanthropy, rejected the Weberian framework of philanthropy which concerns itself with communal self-disciplining for that of Pierre Bourdieu's reading of philanthropy. Paul DiMaggio (1991) and Francie Ostrower (2007) are two examples of famous writers of modern day philanthropy who have been particularly influential in applying Bourdieu's ideas to the study of philanthropy, relying particularly on Francie Ostrower's Bourdieuvian-inspired study of philanthropy as an interclass phenomenon involving struggles over prestige through philanthropic offerings. Following Francie Ostrowe's support for the Bourdieuvian concept of philanthropy, Roelofs (2003) also sees wisdom in this conceptualization of the discourse.

To Roelofs, researchers like Leverenz further take inspiration from Antonio Gramsci's 'intellectual' class; Antonio Gramsci postulates that the whole embodiment of philanthropy manifests itself when others act on the behalf of the ruling class to create hegemony and control (Sawaya 2008). This interpretation is quite similar to the notion of the Bourdieuvian-inspired study of philanthropy. In looking at several instances where hegemony is expressed over the real motive behind some philanthropic actions, Roelofs (2003), referred to a situation in which philanthropic foundations and their funding of non-profit institutions such as universities have not only implemented an ideology of professional expertise, but more importantly, have financially supported the professional class to which academics owe allegiance.

Building on this perspective, Nickel and Eikenberry (2009) therefore concludes that the need for philanthropy signifies total failures in modern societies.

Irrespective of all these, Cannadine (2006) resisted, particularly Bourdieuvian generalizations about their robber baron philanthropists, suggesting that 'give and take' exist in every situation and the happenings in the philanthropic field should not overshadow the positive side of this relationship. Furthermore, notwithstanding his warning to persons who read his publications on the economy of symbolic goods not to tag him as offering a reductionist and cynical narrative of symbolic exchanges, Pierre Bourdieu's views of philanthropy have come under a lot of criticism (Sanghera 2011). Sayer (2005) accuses Bourdieu's analysis of failing to appreciate how economic and social practices possess inherent value that help to define and shape them, so that they are not reducible to economic and symbolic capital. Sanghera (2011) also argues that there is no support for the cynical argument by Bourdieu that individuals deliberately refuse to recognise or disguise their charitable strategies to accumulate symbolic profits. In his view, individuals rather possess mixed feelings and motivations for giving. For instance, moral conventionalists and individualists exercise compassion and contributory reasoning.

As noticed in the series of definitions ascribed to philanthropy, what that informs us is the fact that the discourse has several connotations and meanings depending on the angle from which it is viewed. With growing discussion on "global philanthropy" as a significant phenomenon, Leat (2007) has drawn an important distinction between global philanthropy in the sense of cross-border giving and the globalization of philanthropy—that is, the process of spreading philanthropic institutions and practices globally. As pointed out in the above discussions, this type of cross-border

philanthropy has one unique danger of circumventing the democratic process that sought to influence programmes of the institutions they support (Sirota 2013). This creates a vicious cycle that undermines democratic control; big money interests use anti-democratic campaign finance laws and regulations to fund anti-tax policies that deprive public institutions of resources and control (ibid). This latter trend has been spurred by foundations moving away from funding local NGOs and moving towards funding local philanthropic infrastructures. While Desai and Kharas (2008) see such global philanthropy as remaking the relationship between the world's rich and poor, Barnes (2005) views the role of philanthropy within the confines of multinational firms in Africa, for example, as being more about their own kind of community development seeking to protect markets against major external pressures. The rise of virtual philanthropy has been also earmarked as a new vehicle for income.

2.2.1 History of Philanthropy

The idea of philanthropy can be found in the literature of ancient Egypt, the Romans, the Mesopotamians and other ancient civilizations (Castle 2004). The advent of Christianity later on and other religions further encouraged the practice of philanthropy through their doctrines of 'giving' (ibid). Philanthropy in its many arrangements has emerged as a central and distinctive feature not only of the American social and political scene, but also of most societies (Frumkin 2008). Giving has been part of societies from the Greeks to the present world order, although its forms and significance have evolved considerably (Frumkin 2008). By 1696, personal contacts and interaction with other evangelical institutions in Europe permitted the expansion of trade and evangelical missions into Russia and the Baltic provinces, Hungary, the Near East and India, and eventually the British North

American colonies. This period marks the entrenchment of philanthropy, which was largely spearheaded by August Hermann Francke (Wilson 1998). Francke was a Pietist theologian and the founder of the Orphanage Foundations at Halle in Germany with the prime aim of championing social and religious reforms through theology (ibid). When the efforts of Francke and others extended their networks to the rest of Europe, especially in the United Kingdom, for example, there were already legislations set aside in favour of philanthropy. A mention can be made of the Statute of Charitable Uses, enacted in England 1601; this provision allows private assets to be set aside for charity. This bold initiative paved way for the development and growth of philanthropy in United Kingdom (Castle 2004).

Well into the eighteenth century, philanthropy in Britain and America was a form of charity – a charitable attitude or feeling toward others that prompted benevolent behaviour. The trend in contemporary philanthropy is that of a discourse which is gradually moving away from a relationship-driven toward a value-driven allocation of capital (ibid). The current transformation of global philanthropy coincides with a broad-based market revolution and with globalization, but both market revolution and globalization are by no means identical (Martin 2011).

Religion indeed played a crucial role in the formation and establishment of philanthropic societies in the late 16th century. John Winthrop, in 1630, published a sermon entitled ‘A Model of Christian Charity’ that portrayed a divine and Godly community, overflowing with deeds of charity (Friedman and McGarvie 2003). In Winthrop’s evangelical view, the Puritans would not only love and assist one another, but also do so for the right reasons to nurture a righteous social order (ibid).

But it was the publication of the 1889 essay ‘Wealth’ by Andrew Carnegie that began American philanthropy, as we know it today. Carnegie states his unorthodox view that for wealthy Americans, philanthropy was not a discretionary choice but rather a fundamental moral responsibility (Raymond and Martin 2007). He called for prosperous families to administer their surplus assets to help their communities. Philanthropy was the only appropriate use of surplus funds, Carnegie insisted, and the wealthy man who died without giving would die in disgrace. Andrew Carnegie’s foundation is still among the world’s famous philanthropic outfits; largely set the standard for modern day philanthropy (ibid).

Bremner (1988) opines that philanthropic involvement in the quality of life of individuals manifested itself in the late 19th century. Bremner argues that whatever motives animate individual philanthropists; the purpose of philanthropy itself is to promote the welfare, happiness, and culture of societal wellbeing. Bremner surveyed voluntary activity in the fields of charity, religion, education, humanitarian reform, social service, war relief, and foreign aid and found out that the discourse was indeed paying its dividends in terms of fighting inequality frontally even in those days. Friedman and McGarvie (2003), however, accuse Bremner of not paying much attention to the proliferation of work on philanthropy in other disciplines. As early as the late 1960s and through the 1970s, historians like David Rothman and Clifford Griffin also broke from Brenner’s view that philanthropists were motivated by intentions of improving the well-being of society that came from religious inspiration. They rather found growing favour with a view that early philanthropists also sought to control lower class and deviant populations to augment ruling-class profits and social stability (Friedman and McGarvie 2003).

2.2.2 The New Philanthropy

There is not much distinction between everyday philanthropy and the term 'the new philanthropy'; the only dichotomy is that proponents of the new philanthropy argue that philanthropy should be done in a scientific way, and sought to tackle what they saw as the root causes of social problems, rather than merely to ameliorate their symptoms (Brooks et al. 2009). As already mentioned, the core actions of Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller in moving away from traditional form of charitable giving to a more scientific approach base marks the real beginning of what is now known as 'the new philanthropy' (Frumkin 2008). The term 'venture philanthropy' was probably first coined in 1969 by the American philanthropist, John D Rockefeller III, in a hearing before the US congressional committee leading to the Tax Reform Act (John 2006). From the context, it is clear that Rockefeller had in mind an audacious approach to funding unpopular social causes, rather than an association with entrepreneurial business activities (ibid). A fundamental characteristic of the new philanthropy hinges on its broader spectrum: it is more global in nature, as players within the domain of this form of philanthropy back ideals with a focus on measurable results and constantly demand results from benefactors (Byrne 2002). This is very different from other forms of traditional philanthropy, such as charity as discussed above. With the new philanthropy, donors are being more strategic with their philanthropic undertakings and are following the same systematic approach that made them successful in business to get to the heart of the problem, rather than just treating the symptoms (Grace and Wendroff 2001; Byrne 2002). They seek value driven organizations, often not realizing that it is the values that are attracting them.

Modern forms of philanthropy still operate with the lexicon of the venture capital business model. Terms like ‘return on investment,’ ‘leverage,’ and ‘efficiency’ are cropping up across the sector – including, among established foundations – as grant makers seek a philanthropic analogy to the uninterrupted development and movement of capitalism (Tierney 2006). One essential feature of venture philanthropy is its increasing emphasis on measurements and outcomes (Easterling 2000; Carson 2003; Lohmann 2007). According to Tierney, the strategic nature of venture philanthropy allows many more grant makers to put pressure on recipients of grants to develop metrics to measure the results of their programs. In trying to illustrate the nature of strategic philanthropy, McGoey (2012) says that the strategic approach to philanthropy is reflected in the work of Beatrice and Sydney Webb, early 20th-century British reformers who were adamant that scientific methodologies should be applied to state and non-governmental efforts to improve social welfare. Venture philanthropists also make investments in their grantees’ human capital by passing along skills and knowledge developed in the corporate world (ibid).

The new paradigm encourages corporations to play a leadership role in social problem solving by funding long-term initiatives, like school reform and AIDS awareness that incorporate the best thinking of governments and non-profit institutions (Smith 1994). In the process, companies are forming strategic alliances with non-profits and emerging as important partners in movements for social change while advancing their business goals (ibid). In addition to supporting the arts and other causes, most foundations under the new philanthropy have taken it upon themselves to champion the course of ‘kids’ issues’, particularly the health and welfare of impoverished children who are not able to succeed at school (Smith

1994). In addition to this notion, Nickel and Eikenberry (2009) posit that an advanced arrangement of the current wave of philanthropy has created a market for philanthropic organisations that engages in philanthropic actions that could be transformative for the individual and society. Unlike traditional philanthropy in which individuals give one-time gifts, the new entrepreneurs give over multiple years and, in many cases, with a group of other investors to leverage their financial resources (ibid).

Even though the new philanthropists and some scholars have attributed the main difference between the new philanthropy and other traditional approaches or forms of philanthropy to terms like ‘strategic’, ‘venture’, ‘result oriented’, ‘measurable investments’. Some scholars have sought to downplay the existence of a new form of philanthropy; Larson (2002), for instance, claims that there is not much distinction to really talk about, claiming that it is the same old philanthropy in disguise. Larson argues that it is not a new concept to want to ‘give something back’ and ‘make a difference’ (Larson 2002). Others contend that there is a new type of philanthropy, but accuse it of investing in organizations over a longer period of time and then asking for more measurable results for their own parochial interests. In a thoughtful critique of the advent of ascribing adjectives such as ‘venture’, ‘effective’, ‘new’, and ‘strategic’ to philanthropy, Katz (2004) explores the emergence and the role of these new terms on philanthropy in general and further challenges foundations to be more accountable to their stakeholders and to demonstrate the long-term impact of their grant making.

As stated already, philanthropy is fast changing the discourse, with several trends clearly visible. The common factor is the extent to which philanthropists employ

techniques from business, particularly the financial sector, to make a much greater impact on intractable problems around the world. The new form of philanthropy in existence today has been characterised by different meanings and forms. Terms such as ‘venture philanthropy’; ‘strategic philanthropy’ and ‘corporate philanthropy’ are the face of the new philanthropy (Morvaridi 2012). A commercial company or corporation strongly aligned to its core business operations, mostly tackling problems in a co-ordinated way on a global scale, often uses ‘Strategic philanthropy’ to describe grant making (Frumkin 2008). Pioneered by US philanthropic institutions such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, it adopts a strategic focus on the root causes of issues such as HIV, malaria and educational deprivation, working with partners through large-scale interventions to address them as reported by Frumkin. In essence, their approach is targeted at changing the system rather than just provide remedies for the symptoms (Byrne 2002).

2.2.3 New Philanthropy or Philanthrocapitalism

The debate in the literature on philanthropy is taking place between two main opposing schools of thought- *optimists and pessimists.* From the optimists’ perspective of philanthropy, different lines of arguments have been forcefully put forward. Authorities like Salamon (1992) opined that the real essence of philanthropy is its voluntary nature, which is helping solve the welfare needs of the needy with available resources, and therefore might be a force to reckon with in the near future. Martin (2011) as cited in Harrow and Jung ((2011), supports this claim by stating that the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation which has a board of trustees consisting of Bill and Melinda Gates and Warren Buffett happens to be the world’s largest

foundation, had an operating budget of US $3.8bn in 2009, which was only slightly smaller than the World Health Organization's (WHO) budget of US $5bn. While the WHO is controlled and accountable to 193 member countries, this, therefore, offers further hope and optimism for the future. Equally, Anheier and Leat (2006 : 9) argue that philanthropic foundations have the 'sufficient resources and 'space' to allow them to think, to be truly innovative, to take risks, to fail, and to take the longer-term view'. However, Nickel and Eikenberry (2009), in looking at the role of philanthropy in the era of global governance, argue that governmental, social, and public policies ought to be contested and debated. The lack of this form of scrutiny of individual wealthy philanthropists is the bane of the new philanthropy, which might come back to haunt it. Payton and Moody (2008) seek a broadened positive concept of philanthropy, as voluntary action that advances a vision of the public good and that philanthropic efforts should be morally motivated and should seek to intervene in poverty and mass inequality globally and not window dress these phenomena. Ealy (2005), writing in favour of the prospects of philanthropy, reveals that the role of philanthropic support in advancing the conditions for human freedom and flourishing will continue to remain with us forever; modern philanthropy was largely an Anglo-American phenomenon that took root in the soil of English and American social reform movements of the nineteenth century. This discourse has gone through a lot of stages and transformations from its inception up to now, and the subsequent chapters of this review contain some of these perspectives.

Rudich's (2007) work, which hinges on using three key elements of relevant theory further, explains the importance of philanthropy and its prospects. Micklewright and Wright support Rudich's view, citing, for example, the new changes made to the

United Kingdom tax system to encourage and inspire private philanthropy, and that the evidence suggests that much of the donor response has been positive (Micklewright and Wright 2003). In a disagreement with this school of thought, Nickel and Eikenberry (2009) nonetheless point to how the values of the marketplace have moved the philanthropic discourse to the point where its potential for bringing about social change is increasingly lost.

At this juncture, the 'philanthrocapitalism' debate pops up; this is the application of business techniques to philanthropy by a new generation of self-made philanthropists and businesses. Matthew Bishop and former United Kingdom development aid official Michael Green are the brains behind this term; the duo argue that we are on the verge of a new social movement led by the wealthy seeking to provide transformational solutions to the issues it takes up. The fact that this agenda is spearheaded by motivated business and celebrity philanthropists such as Bill Gates, Bono, Richard Branson, Angelina Jolie or George Soros and that it has now become a veritable movement forecasts a very positive future (Bishop and Green 2008). Jenkins (2010), on the other hand, vehemently disagrees with the assertion made by Bishop and Green, saying that while philanthrocapitalists may raise important questions about grant making, there are significant drawbacks to embracing philanthrocapitalism as a new paradigm for carrying out charitable giving. He also argues that the self-governance exercised by foundations should be subjected to critical evaluation and reflection, because this new movement with its use of cutting-edge language about strategy and effectiveness somewhat exacerbates the divide and strains these relationships that exist between phhilanthrocapitalists and grant makers further. Peter Frumkin refers to self-made

philanthropists, who have expressed interest in taking a more active role in dispersing their wealth, and thereby bringing a hands-on approach that is in keeping with the dynamism and engagement that these entrepreneurs bring to their business (Frumkin 2008). According to Frumkin, many of the practices associated with the attitude and style of this new form of giving endanger some of the most vital benefits and values the non-profit sector brings to society, namely the role of non-profit organizations in social change, the promotion of democratic values, and the building of communities and social ties through empowerment and participation. He argues that all of these have been over-shadowed by the 'embracing profit motives' of these mega philanthropists.

Another dimension is that of *moral argument.* Those who believe in the prospects of philanthropy through moral argument believe that the role of business in society has been transformed through both the vulnerable and the well-to do, and therefore both consumers and policy-makers expect businesses to act as good corporate citizens by giving back to the communities that support them by offering a lot of their gains for community development as a philanthropic gesture (Koehn and Ueng 2010). Jeavons (1992) also adds that non-profit organizations come into existence and exist primarily to give expression to the social, philosophical, moral, or religious values of their founders and supporters. Also, the United Nations' Global Compact also stresses the key role that businesses play and stresses that they indeed have a moral obligation to be part of the solution to the world's most pressing problems. Michael Porter as well contends that 'we are learning that the most effective way to address many of the world's most pressing problems is to mobilize the corporate sector in a context of rules, incentives, and partnerships where both companies and

society can benefit' (Porter 2002: 4). However, classic liberal economists, such as Milton Friedman and former Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) chief economist David Henderson, insist that corporations have no moral obligation whatsoever to address social ills, on the contrary, when philanthropic corporations give away profits to charities or NGOs, they effectively steal money that should be returned to shareholders (Adrian et al. 2013).

Arguing in favour of non-profit organizations and philanthropic acts, Eikenbery and Kluver (2004) state that philanthropic organisations protect a sphere of private action through which individuals can take the initiative, express their individuality, and exercise freedom of expression and action. Eikenbery and Kluver claim that non-profit organizations also play an important role in mobilizing public attention to social problems and needs, serving as conduits for free expression and social change. But, this notion has been significantly challenged. For instance, Salamon (1993) would want others with similar views, such as Eikenbery and Kluver, to know that the non-profit sector's increased dependence on commercial revenue has caused a shift from services targeting to the poor to services targeting those who are in a very good position to pay.

Greenberg (2006 :163) adds his voice to the optimist advocates of philanthropy in saying that inter-governmental and philanthropic alliances are vital to ensuring that 'a durable peace can be established in the post-9/11 era' since powerful and influential figures are the major players of the day in the industry. Philanthropists, in a concerted effort could devote a substantial proportion of donation to peace building mechanism; promote advocacy about the dangers war and violence. Jacobson (2010), nonetheless, notes that charitable activity may serve as a means for terrorist

groups to promote their principles among potential supporters. Interestingly, a study done by Aksartova (2003) on peace grant making by US foundations, guided by neo-institutional organizational theory, established that overriding values around legitimacy concerns in the context of normative pressure from the national security state adversely affected foundation grant making since the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. Analysing the grant making practices of over 1,300 US foundations in 2007, Suarez and Lee point to the underlying meanings of philanthropy and governments: moving beyond responding to multiple social change agendas and the extent to which such practices integrate the foundations into public policy processes (Harrow and Jung 2011). The authors maintain that larger boards and larger foundations have a greater propensity to provide support for institution building and social cohesion to combat poverty (ibid).

Addams (2002), who happens to be one of the foremost critics of philanthropy, did not mince words when she alluded that injustice festers most when a benefactor ‘is good ‘to’ people rather than ‘with’ them’. Addams further states that these benefactors are not given the equal opportunity to determine or decide what is good for them without the direct involvement of their benevolent donors. Similarly, Frumkin postulated that philanthropy has a danger of doing little to elevate the status of the poor or change the social conditions that made them poor in the first place, and rather strengthen the hierarchy, which often renders the poor mere wards of the rich. Fischer (1995) maintains that the assumption of superiority on the part of the benefactor is a characteristic and a major feature of volunteerism. Salamon (Salamon 1987) in a likewise manner cautioned against what he calls ‘philanthropic paternalism’ whereby wealthy donors are in a position to determine what the non-

profit sector does and whom it serves, creating a situation that gives beneficiaries no say over the resources that are spent on their behalf.

Furthermore, some critics of philanthropy have further argued that an important purpose of giving is co-optation and social control, not for political and social change (Lindahl and Conley 2002). These scholars contend that giving is a way of diverting the poor from the most central issue of inequality by rendering some assistance, but not by making structural changes in the way the economy, society, and polity are organized (Lindahl and Conley 2002; Berman 1983). The Ford Foundation, for example, has come under severe criticism for harbouring a large number of weak proposals and weak institutions all over the globe instead of a few strong ones (Bishop and Green 2008). The pessimists also argue that foundations throughout the world are not neutral in their dealings with issues where they have vested interests. For example, some researchers have highlighted that private foundations are not solely driven by altruistic concerns, but have a certain level of calculating profit-oriented interest (Srivastava and Oh 2010). In relation to this claim, Berman (1983) argued that the big three's decision to concentrate funding on a limited number of universities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America was not necessarily to help the most needy, but so that foundations might get more for their money in the long run if they pick two or three places that look pretty strong compared to the others.

Finally, some pessimists moreover aggressively opined that philanthropy is not much concerned with ambitious social and political change agendas, or with the relentless pursuit of innovation, in the sense that a large number of donors, particularly smaller contributors, use their giving simply to achieve a modest measure of economic equity (Adelman 2008).

Apart from the two main viewpoints on philanthropy, there is also a general one, mostly referred to philanthropic. Varadarajan and Menon (1988) were the first group of researchers to embark upon an intensive review of the literature on philanthropic theory, owing to the fact that there is currently no generally accepted theory of philanthropy. The theories of philanthropy in the international landscape had been largely influenced by pessimistic sentiments. A vast number of these theories varied significantly, beginning with the developmentalist-oriented optimism of the 1950s and 1960s to the large-scale pessimism which prevailed in the 1970s and 1980s, to the renewed optimism of the 1990s (Lee 2008; Frynas 2005). Now that we have been told there is no generally accepted theory of philanthropy, the big question therefore is in the absence of its theory of what else could be the guiding principle of philanthropy? Nonetheless, there are few social science theories out there that philanthropy is heavily associated with.

From the perspective of social relations theory, Ostrander and Schervish (1990) argue that the idea of philanthropy embodies ‘a social relation revolving around the moral virtue of the burning desire to liberate wanton suffering’. Moreover, they argue that philanthropy is distinguished from the worlds of business and politics, which can also claim in different ways to serve the public good, by ‘the kind of signal or moral claim that mobilises and governs the matching of resources to needs’. Similarly, Payton and Moody (2008) offer an affirmative notion of philanthropy as voluntary action that advances a vision of the public good, which is similar to Ostrander and Schervish’s conception. The nature of the new philanthropy envisaged is rooted in ‘moral action’, which seeks to improve the lives of the needy.

In addition to social relations theory, other theoretical frameworks also posit different interpretations about the contribution philanthropy makes to civil society, which, in turn, affect whether it is judged to be of an evaluative nature. For instance, the pluralist views of philanthropy, typify philanthropic activity as a source of innovation, a champion of a range of social problems and issues, and a supporter of multiple perspectives on how these problems should be addressed. They further argue that such activity is engaged in complimenting the government by acting in 'unpopular' or problematic areas, often over the long term (Nagai et al. 1994).

Once more, the Social Exchange theory under Mount's model (1996) which is centred on personal donor-ship, posits that donors decide the level of their giving based on five criteria: involvement in the organization, the importance of the mission with respect to the donor's other philanthropic obligations, self-interest, the donor's disposable income, and past giving behaviour. Mount's research showed that tax incentives have only a nominal impact on giving (Mount 1996). Closely following social exchange theory is the Justice Motivation theory; the underlying framework in this theory is that people often see the need to fix an injustice in society and hence the motivation to engage in philanthropic giving and volunteerism. Lerner (1977) and Miller (1977) refer to this need to believe in a just world as a 'justice motive'. Warren and Walker (1991) used this concept in their inquiry into philanthropic giving through mail solicitations in Australia.

Critical social theory and critical theory of the state provide an important cautionary perspective on the current enthusiasm about the relationship between philanthropy and governance (Eikenberry and Nickel 2006). This is not to say that philanthropy is merely the management of late capitalism; however, if we accept the premise of late

capitalism, governance has designated philanthropy as the apparatus of the capitalist state (Anheier 2004; Eikenberry and Nickel 2006). This theory explicitly addresses the integrative function of the state, or the way in which the state ensures that the dominant ideology is internalized as acceptable, thus deepening our understanding of the state's reliance on philanthropy and its role in the affairs of governance (ibid).

The prevailing theories mostly focus on self-interest as the main driving force. The unresolved question of why people give gifts led to the creation of an economic theory (Anheier and Leat 2006; Harrow 2010; Hyánek and Hladká 2013). It is generally assumed that to fully grasp the idea of altruism, we must first understand human behaviour. Altruism is associated with a moral principle or motivation which, at least to some extent, compels us to give preference to the needs of others over our own needs, to make sacrifices for the benefit for others, i.e., society (Anheier and Leat 200). The theory of altruism maintains that charitable behaviour may mean short-term sacrifice, but long-term profits (Hyánek and Hladká 2013). It is evidently clear that the kind of philanthropy that is being practiced is characterised by this theory of altruism where a lot of efforts have been made to improve philanthropy across the globe.

Lastly, the Theory of Moral Sentiments postulated by Adam Smith in 1759, posits that people have a natural fellow-feeling or sympathy for others (Smith 2010). Philanthropic units promote sympathy for communities and benevolent causes, which promote morally good behaviour. According to this theory, a huge number of corporations venturing into third world countries are fostering rapid economic development and modernization due to altruistic motives (Smith 2010). Philanthropy

leads to a North-South reallocation of investments and quickens the exposure of traditional communities to liberal, rational and democratic ideas, modern information for development (Burlingame and Smith 1999; Jenkins 2006).

The discussion so far has revealed that the conceptual framework provides various arguments around what role the new philanthropy should play in society in providing relief for the poor (Van Til 1990; Daly 2012). The *pluralist* views of philanthropy in the theoretical literature on philanthropy characterize philanthropic activity as a source and leader of innovation; a champion of a range of social problems and issues, and a supporter of multiple perspectives on how these problems should be addressed (Ibid). Jenkins (1950), for example, provides an argument that philanthropy has a positive role to play towards social change. Jenkins argues that innovative ideas are produced for social problems: rather than just giving the poor small alms, philanthropy aspires to do something more lasting and radical. One fundamental argument that I put forward in this study is that smallholder farmers do not know the distinction between philanthropic and governmental agencies or other NGOs, and therefore have limited ideas on how to take advantage of the many opportunities that exist in philanthropy. I intend to also critically analyse the pluralist views of the philanthropy based on information obtained from smallholder farmers.

2.3 Relationship between Charity and Philanthropy

Philanthropy is frequently used interchangeably with *charity,* but these two famous words differ many ways. Charity is practically directed towards the welfare of the needy, and often focuses on the relief of severe and immediate needs. Philanthropy is a broader concept as discussed above which consists of some form of charity, but

also encompasses the wider range of private giving for public purposes (Ostrower 1995). According to Ostrower, charity is specifically directed toward the poor, and often focuses on disaster relief and immediate needs, whilst Philanthropy is a wider concept, which includes charity, but also embraces contributions to universities, hospitals, cathedrals, temples, mosques, environmental causes, social service institutions, parks, and research institutes. Philanthropy covers a wide range of areas; beginning with what is highly necessary to what is desirable (ibid). Charity can best be understood as the uncomplicated and unconditional transfer of money or assistance to those in need with the intent of helping. Of course, charity has a long history, one that is deeply intertwined with many of the world's religions. Charity gained ground when John Winthrop preached a model of Christian charity in 1630 in America, and when Carnegie published two articles on wealth that set forth his views on philanthropy and that was the beginning its growth in America (Frumkin 2008). He argued that 'surplus wealth should not be allowed to accumulate during a man's life only to be disposed of after his death. Instead, it was the duty of the man who earned the funds to disburse them while still alive (ibid). There was no honour in giving away wealth at death when it can no longer be used anymore by the person who earned it' (Frumkin 2008 : 20). In a similar fashion, John D. Rockefeller espoused almost the same sentiments in his book when he maintained that the time had come for the wealthy to devote more of their time, effort, and thought to improve public wellbeing.

Gross (2003) maintains that whilst 'charity' denotes compassionate, person to person giving, 'philanthropy' on the other hand means rational and institutionalised giving, which seeks to achieve grand objectives in society.

I have chronicled the development of philanthropy from the periods where it was confined to religious background to its present stature. Charity was the main embodiment of traditional concept of philanthropy. Strategic philanthropy gained prominence in the early 20th century with the emergence of a group of progressive philanthropists (Nagai et al. 1994). Examples of such individuals consist of Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and Henry Ford (Fleishman 2007; Nagai et al. 1994). These three personalities applied vigorous and more sophisticated methods of giving with the prime aim of advancing human welfare globally, the economic well-being of people everywhere and improve economic institutions for the better realization of democratic goals (Nagai et al. 1994). This obviously marks the beginning of the shift in the focus of the hitherto religiously-oriented charity to modern day philanthropy. Ostrower (1995) refers to modern day philanthropy as a social institution that takes on meaning in the context of a cultural emphasis on individualism and private initiative and a mistrust of governmental power and large-scale bureaucracy. Henry Ford then makes this famous statement, which typifies his view: 'My idea is justice, not charity…My idea is to aid men to help themselves' (Arnove and Pinede 2007 : 391). Thus, Fleishman, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Ford, and their peers brought a new level of strategic thinking to giving, which was influenced by their status as capitalists who were strong believers in the scientific method of problem-solving. Frumkin adds that although they are best known for assisting universities, libraries, parks and other cultural infrastructure, some suggest that their greatest contribution to the field of philanthropy was their complete rejection of conventional charity for strategic philanthropy.

The charity model of finding solutions to the problems of mankind has been criticised by scholars such as Leat for only addressing symptoms rather than causes, leading to a massive rise in modern day strategic philanthropy and scientific base foundation approach (Anheier and Leat 2006; Wilson 1998). Adelman (2009) as well says that the charity approach tends to operate on the now largely false expectation that someone else will take up the job of widening and sustaining the impact of human well-being. Furthermore, by offering money to others, givers place the poor in the unfortunate position of taking money they have not earned in order to survive (Drezner 2011). By not demanding change and self-help from the poor, charity has been criticized as superficial and not adequately curative (Drezner 2011).

2.4 Poverty Reduction

In the international discussion on how to eradicate or reduce poverty, the potential contribution of companies is often mentioned nowadays by many international organizations, NGOs and business associations. The Millennium Development Goals, which include the objective to halve income poverty by 2015, refer to the development of a ‘global partnership for development’, in which there is a role for companies (Kolk and Van Tulder 2006). The UN Commission on the Private Sector & Development, which explicitly considered how this potential could be realized, underlined the importance of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and several other philanthropic organisations in the quest to reduce poverty drastically (Kolk and Van Tulder 2006). Poverty alleviation is the set of all viable measures put in place that seek to reduce poverty (Levy and Mundial 1991). In this sense, we can describe poverty alleviation to those acts that are geared towards reducing poverty to the bare minimum.

Among the academic literature on poverty, Desai (1986 : 1) fashioned a well-thought-out analysis, which views it as both a political and social phenomenon. According to Desai, only those definitions of poverty, which attract wider possible followers, would do the magic towards finding a lasting solution to the poverty menace. Amartya Sen, whose publications contribute hugely to transform ideas and philosophies on poverty, rejected this policy-based perspective in favour of a more vigorous and absolute framework. Sen quoted a famous publication by the United States' President's Commission on Income Maintenance, which reads: 'If a society believes that people should not be permitted to die of starvation or exposure, then it will define poverty as the lack of minimum food and shelter necessary to maintain life (Sen 1979). In low-income societies, the community finds it impossible to worry about much beyond physical survival. Other societies, more able to support their dependent citizens, begin to consider the effects that pauperism will have on the poor and non-poor alike (Sen 1979). Sen further forcefully argues that there are at least two difficulties with this 'policy definition'. Firstly, the making of public policy depends on a number of influences of which the prevalent notion of what should be done is only one and secondly, to concede that some deprivations cannot be immediately eliminated is not the same thing as conceding that they must not currently be seen as deprivations'.

Theories and other approaches to the understanding of poverty are numerous, as a lot of writers have researched extensively in this regard. Shaffer (2001), for instance, offers a more inclusive breakdown of available categories of poverty as well as the various stages of it. Shaffer focuses his model on institutional approaches to poverty reduction such as the Human Capital Approach and the Production Capital

Approach, which have been widened and developed through collective and theoretic modifications. Foster (1984) presents a simple, new poverty measure that indicates that: (i) poverty is additively decomposable with population-share weights, (ii) satisfies the basic properties proposed by Sen, and (iii) is justified by a relative deprivation concept of poverty. The inequality measure associated with our poverty measure is shown to be the squared coefficient of variation, and indeed the poverty measure may be expressed as a combination of this inequality measure, the headcount ratio, and the income-gap ratio in a manner similar to that of Sen's argument.

Moving on to the trend of poverty-endemic related issues in developing economies, three out of four poor persons in developing countries, over 890 million people, lived in rural areas by the end of 2002 (Byerlee et al. 2009). Even with rapid expansion, the developing world is anticipated to remain mainly rural in most regions until about 2020, and many of the poor are projected to continue to live in rural areas until 2040 (ibid). The world population today stands at about 7 billion people and is expected to grow to at least 9.2 billion by the year 2050 (Leisinger 2007). The economically less developed regions account for 86 per cent of the world population; hence, under the most optimistic scenario for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), we will be faced with widespread deprivation, disparity, and strife for many decades to come—unless there are new initiatives on a paradigm-shifting scale as well as the diversification of various developmental needs, including private-led participation such as philanthropy (World Bank 2012b). This state of affairs largely contributes to this study.

Philanthropy has recently shown a profound commitment to addressing global poverty and inequity; philanthropists contribute to a wide variety of causes, with their impact on the international development immediately felt (Newland et al. 2010). The World Bank estimates that about 10% of all grants and contributions from philanthropic foundations worldwide are targeted towards international development, totalling about $800 million in 2005 alone (ibid).

2.4.1 Philanthropy and Poverty Reduction

The discussion on the need for philanthropic organisations go beyond their profit motivation is an ongoing one. Jenkins (2006) argues that poverty reduction is possible through socially responsible practices. Similarly, Prahalad (2004) in his interesting book *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid* argues that doing business in an intelligent way can help tremendously in tackling global poverty. He rightly opines that attempts made by the World Bank, donor nations, aid agencies, governments and other bodies during the past 50 years have proved to be ineffective in poverty eradication. As such, there is a need to use other means to fight this social evil. Prahalad puts forward that companies should engage themselves in the profitable provision of goods and services that meet the real needs of the enormous population at the bottom of the pyramid. Ragodoo (2009) support this viewpoint and offer evidence of successful completion of profitable 'social' projects in India, with Hindustan Lever producing iodised salt, helping the 70 million children suffering from iodine deficiency, and developing the soap market through life-saving health-based education targeted at village school children in an attempt to fight against diarrhoea which causes 2.2 million deaths annually. Similarly, Morvaridi (2012) makes reference to significant support emanating from philanthropic outfits through

agricultural modernization and the transfer of technology in the agricultural sector to smallholder farmers; this is capable of addressing poverty to some extent.

In a study done by Newland and Patrick (2004) regarding the role of diaspora migrants in poverty reduction in their countries of origin, they found out that the Sierra Leone War Trust for Children was able to rehabilitate six villages that were completely destroyed during the war by providing primary education, and facilitating food security and economic self-sufficiency through agriculture. In a similar vein, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reports that due to the activities of philanthropy, Asia, which was plunged into food crisis in the early 1960s and was the focus of food concerns, can now boast of an increasing trend of food reliability: in the past 50 years, the percentage of hungry people in Vietnam, India, China, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia and most other Asian and Latin American countries has been steadily declining (Foley et al. 2011). Djurfeldt (2005) also affirms this position by categorically pointing out that rice production doubled, coupled with increased rice cropping intensity, because of the activities of the Rockefeller and other foundations' investment in the area.

However, philanthropy does not always lead to good outcomes. Shiva (1991) investigates the impact of the Rockefeller-led sponsored provision of genetically modified seedlings and the application of technology in modern farming in the Punjab district of India. The study found that the programme has rather led to reduced genetic diversity, increased vulnerability to pests, soil erosion, and water shortages, and reduced soil fertility, micronutrient deficiencies, soil contamination and the reduced availability of nutritious food crops for the local population. It also failed woefully to confront poverty in the sense that its actions encouraged massive

displacement of vast numbers of small farmers from their land, rural impoverishment and increased tensions and conflicts. The main recipients have been the agrochemical industry, large petrochemical companies, and manufacturers of agricultural machinery and large landowners instead of peasant farmers. Similarly, Scherer (2011) downplays the visible success story of the philanthropy-backed Green Revolution in India; he argues that the indigenous local farmers rather paid an ecological and social price, as the Green Revolution devastated Indian land, destroyed a rich biodiversity, devalued indigenous knowledge, and drove farmers that could not afford the necessary inputs off their land and into the cities.

Sarah Reckhow and Margaret Weir for example explore the presence of charitable foundations in the suburbs of four major metropolitan areas (Atlanta, Chicago, Denver, and Detroit). The authors' findings were based on recent interviews at the time with leading community foundations and an analysis of nearly 16,000 foundation grants between 2003 and 2007 that totalled more than $650 million (Lester and Reckhow 2013). One finding that clearly emerges from this report is the fact that philanthropic foundations, in their view, are not well-equipped to tackle the changing geography of poverty. Reckhow and Weir, however, find a few well-resourced foundations in the suburbs struggling to combat rising poverty with little dollar amounts making less impact. Foundations commonly are constrained by the preferences of donors to target resources at particular issues or communities. Few suburban communities have non-profit human service organizations, which are capable of fostering partnerships with private foundations (Lester and Reckhow 2013).

Clough (1960) identified poverty relief, education, arts and sciences as some areas that have received massive recognition from philanthropic agencies. This reemphasizes philanthropy's key characteristic: its autonomy and foundation in independent-oriented actions. For example, the Carnegie Corporation, Rockefeller Foundation, and Ford Foundation or 'the big three' have contributed greatly in the areas of social causes, research, and public works over the years (Cornwall 2007; Srivastava and Oh 2010; Tikly and Barrett 2011). The fact that individual philanthropy has transmogrified into several forms such as corporate philanthropy, strategic philanthropy, venture philanthropy, the new philanthropy and others as this further show the significance and the contemporary role it plays, which not only involves individuals but businesses (Vickrey 1962; Ostrower 1997). Despite all these enumerated gains espoused above, David (2006 :1), quoting Bishop Hughes insists that millionaires who agree to give away their fortunes, were 'the unnatural product of artificial social regulations'. Hughes believes Carnegie's accumulation of millions had come at the expense of his less fortunate countrymen. He added that 'millionaires at one end of the scale involve paupers at the other end, and even so excellent a man as Mr Carnegie is too dear at that price'. This is precisely the reason why others argue that philanthropic givers make lot of money through corporate tax benefit, or managing reputational risk and using charitable causes as a means of gaining respect and credibility (Morvaridi 2012; Edwards 2010). This position is also held by some other critics who believe that the current contribution of philanthropy is still woefully inadequate.

Another investigation by Dalrymple (1986) established that the Asian Green Revolution led to a considerable degree of success in wheat and rice production

after three years of vigorous philanthropic support. For instance, between 1968 and 1969, the semi-dwarf Mexican wheat varieties distributed accounted for 30% of India's wheat land, 38% of Pakistan's, and 25% of Nepal's. Subsequently, it covered about 60% in India and Pakistan and had continued spreading elsewhere (Dalrymple 1986; Bell et al. 2008). The approach was based on building the capacity of beneficiaries in Mexico and India as well as other national scientists to generate their own technology and to eventually take over the activities of the philanthropic foundation. Consequently, more scientists were trained domestically with the knowledge and ability to develop and apply all the tools of biotechnology and to advise their governments and officialdom about the nitty-gritty of biotechnology and its relevance for their societies (ibid). Nonetheless, Gomberg (2002), citing lappe et al. (2000), established that the Green Revolution brought higher technological changes into Uganda pushed small and poorer farmers out of the competition. Gomberg (2002) further argues that, as a result, food production in certain areas was reduced drastically, due to the inability of the majority of these farmers to keep track of what they were doing. In some instances, poor farmers sell their lands at paltry sums in order to get assistance from the new technology and its attendant benefits (ibid).

A quick look at the literature indicates the lack of a single, uniform theoretical framework that clearly addresses the many concerns of philanthropy and poverty reduction. However, some major opinions, as seen in the literature, are the guiding theoretical underpinnings of philanthropy and agricultural development. Theoretical progress in the literature of philanthropy is limited. The majority of papers reviewed by Bekkers and Wiepking (2007) were shown not to have any solid theoretical

foundation at all, as the literature on philanthropy may be characterized as largely empirical. Again, there exist overwhelming studies that have theoretical foundations based purely on regression analyses (ibid). They compare their results with the regressions of earlier studies, but do not test hypotheses derived from predominant as well as overreaching theories. This is not to say that there is no progress at all; succeeding studies may build on theoretical arguments without making them explicit (Bekkers and Wiepking 2007).

2.5 Livelihood and Sustainable Livelihood Analysis (SLA)

Chambers and Conway (1992 :1) have provided a concise and operational definition that has been widely accepted. According to Chambers and Conway, 'a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term'. Krantz (2001) also asserts that an important point of the sustainable livelihood approach is that it allows the consideration of various factors and processes, which either hinder or enhance poor people's ability to make a living in an economically and socially sustainable manner.

Broadly speaking, the concept of livelihood in the context of Ghana refers to activities undertaken by an individual, and the availability of assets (e.g., land) used to access the basic necessities of life such as food, shelter and clothing (Kanji et al. 2016). It

recognises how people in a particular geographical enclave use their assets and capabilities (e.g., skills) to survive and improve their living conditions (ibid).

The strength of the SLA approach is that it focuses on poverty reduction interventions empowering the poor to build on their own opportunities, supporting their access to assets, and developing an enabling policy and an institutional environment (Ibid). SLA aspires to build on existing assets and to be sustainable (Chambers and Conway 1992; Scoones 1998). Krantz (2001) argues that the position of Chambers and Conway on SLA had the great merit of clarifying the concept of sustainable livelihoods and its constituent parts. However, Krantz contends that their treatment of the subject was rather general. Since then, much effort has gone into refining the SLA concept further, both analytically and operationally.

According to Erenstein et al. (2010), the inverse relationship between livelihood assets and poverty means that increasing people's asset base can alleviate poverty. Erenstein and colleagues (2010) agree with Scoones (1998) that people with more assets are more likely to have greater livelihood options with which to pursue their goals and reduce poverty. Shrivastava and Bihari (2010) introduced another dimension into the debate on livelihoods. In their view, meeting the basic needs of poor people allows them to expand their options, investing in education and health care, which in the long run leads to improved livelihoods.

2.6 The New Philanthropy in the Developing World

Private giving has emerged progressively as a more important source of development financing for the developing economies of the world. The Hudson

Institute's 2012 Index of Philanthropy and Transfers Report shows the combined contribution of remittances and venture philanthropy provided about US $575 billion to developing countries, much more than the entire contribution of Overseas ODA (Chimhowu 2013). Out of this figure, venture philanthropy alone contributed US $56 billion, with remittances accounting for US $190 billion. But, the records indicate that up to 80 per cent of these commitments rather go to the social sectors (especially health), with little going to the agricultural sector. Of funding from United Kingdom-based private giving, 10% goes to agriculture projects (Chimhowu 2013).

Development aid in Africa, for example, is a rapidly changing phenomenon, as seen in the last five decades. Historically, the early 1980s, which was characterized by structural adjustment programmes proposed by the Bretton Woods intuitions, paved for the emergence of private/state participatory execution of projects, leading to rather stable macro-economic indicators and the flourishing of the private sector (Helly 2013). In the view of Helly, these institutions have moved beyond merely looking at indicators towards pro-growth and Keynesian strategies, supporting sustainable public structures to ensure resilient economic and financial governance. African markets have opened up to new investors.

Philanthropic actions in third-world countries have been spearheaded by five groups of newly prominent development players who have jointly shaped the nature of philanthropic involvement in the developing world (Brainard and LaFleur 2007). They are often referred to as megaphilanthropists—the modern-day Fords and Rockefellers whose breath-taking commercial achievements have afforded them the resources and influence to engage in development on a global scale (Brainard and LaFleur 2007). Many of these new actors—such as Bill Gates of Microsoft, eBay

executives Jeff Skoll and Pierre and Pam Omidyar, Virgin mogul Richard Branson, AOL cofounder Steve Case, and Google Wunderkinds Sergey Brin and Larry Page earned their billions by pioneering transformative new information technologies (Brainard and LaFleur 2007). These new megaphilanthropists are leading the pack in investing in the development of powerful science and new technologies to overcome the burdens of disease, malnutrition, poor water and sanitation, marginal agriculture, and unreliable power that encumber the lives of the poor. Others, such as George Soros, are setting their sights on social and political transformation, empowering local actors who seek to transform societies in which ingrained corruption and unaccountable regimes have held back progress for generations, or in which entrenched interests have obscured growing dangers to the environment. Cheng (2009), however, argues that despite these tangible gains, for the world to be a better place, there should be a balance between social and economic objectives, but many of these megaphilanthropists' initiatives seek to achieve parallel objectives that largely protect their interests. Domhoff (2009) is in clear alignment with the same position when he states that charitable giving 'makes further social change very difficult, in the sense that activists and the staffs of community organizations walk a tightrope between organizing for social change and delivering social services'. It's probably the case of getting each sector to recognise the value of the others and copying the best practices from each other.

Several scholars have also pointed out that the foundation sector provides opportunities for leadership in social problem solving. For instance, the Gates Foundation has been widely acknowledged for its immense positive impact within the global health sector and the AGRA. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation also

devoted a 38% share of its resources for fighting preventable diseases in the developing world in 2007. Apart from these, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) also touted its success story in Zambia, claiming that as a result of its Malaria Control and Evaluation Partnership in Africa, Zambia reduced half the incidents of malaria in 2009. According to McCoy and colleagues (2009), the outfit also liaises with other partner organizations worldwide in tackling critical problems of poverty alleviation through its Global Development Division. Also, private foundations across the globe to have had a local focus on funding libraries, schools or hospitals in their cities and countries of origin (Anheier and Daly 2007). Although the Gates Foundation has generally received some support and commendation for their work, some critical remarks have been made regarding their accountability. Feachem and Sabot (2008) point out that the Gates Foundation's extensive network and potential profit-making motive over shadowing the real import of its drive to eradicate malaria, for instance. Also, Pillers, et al. (2007), as mentioned in (Søreide 2010), criticize the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation Trust for unethical investment in some companies whose operations are counterproductive to the goals of the foundation. In a similar fashion, Roelofs, criticises the philanthropic role in development as a platform for these institutions mainly act as 'prime constructors of hegemony, by promoting consent and discouraging dissent against capitalist democracy' though others stress the significance of seeing foundations engaged in a 'permanent project' of achieving a social vision (Roelofs 2007 : 479).

According to Desai and others, since 1998, international giving by American-based independent foundations has doubled, and that they now contribute, alongside NGOs and charities headquartered in the United States, over $30 billion to

international causes annually (Leisinger 2007; Desai and Kharas 2008), and these figures are on the increase on a yearly basis. This state of affairs has prompted a call for inquiry by various writers of the field. Kharas (2007) makes available a detailed empirical map of total aid flows to the developing world and contested the real impact of these inflows. His review recognized the fact that out of the $107 billion in official development assistance disbursed by rich countries to developing countries in 2005, only $38 billion was meant for long-term development projects and programs, known as a country programmable aid.

Discourse on the role of private foundations and other private philanthropists in international development particularly to Africa suggests that foundations spend high amounts for development activities, and that there are newly emerging powerful actors in this field (Brainard and LaFleur 2007). However, a closer look at the figures reveals that the empirical basis for such assumptions is rather thin. In order to give a true picture of the level of resources that go to support development activities in developing countries, the figure below shows the U.S. Total Net Economic Engagement with Developing Countries in 2010.

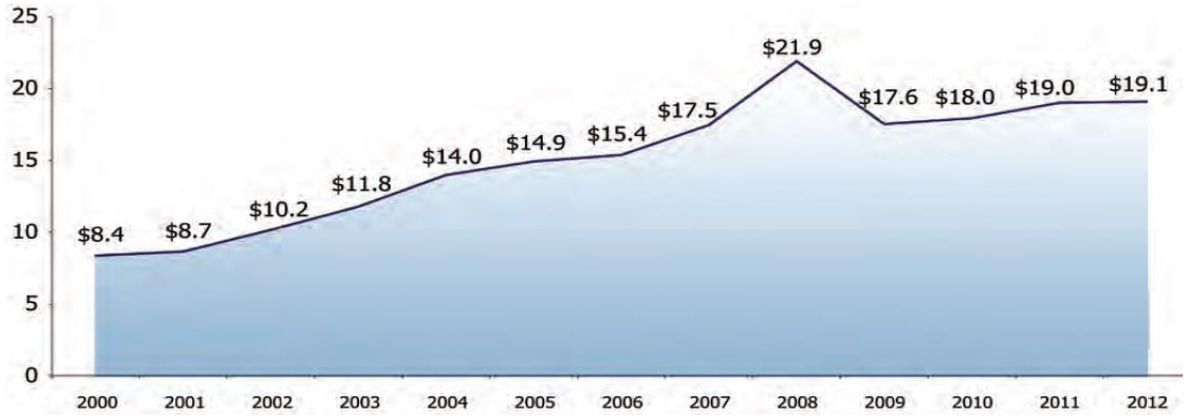
Table 2.1: U.S. Total Philanthropic Contributions to Developing Countries-2010/11

	Billions of $	%
U.S. Official Development Assistance	$30.9	11%
U.S. Private Philanthropy	$39.0	14%
Foundations	$4.6	12%
Corporations	$7.6	19%
Private and Voluntary Organizations	$14.0	36%
Volunteerism	$3.7	9%
Universities and Colleges	$1.9	5%
Religious Organizations*	$7.2	18%
U.S. Remittances	$100.2	36%
U.S. Private Capital Flows	$108.4	39%
U.S. Total Economic Engagement	$278.5	100%*

Source: Hudson Institute (2013).

The above table shows that the United States of America's private philanthropy alone outstrip ODA by about 3%; that is, if the contribution of foundations is added as well. These statistics give hope to the ardent advocates of philanthropy that, if this trend continues, philanthropic contributions will soon amount to double the contribution of all ODA's. The Hudson institute has consistently put out these figures to make the point that the falling standard of international donations, leading to a reduction in the budget of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) and other international bodies, could be addressed through philanthropy. However, as we can see, the volume of private resources is unlikely to be adequate, because the terrain has not shown to be stable (see Fig 2.1 below).

Figure 2.1: International Giving Trend (In billions of inflation-adjusted dollars)



Source: Global Impact (2013).

While the trend in international giving as shown above indicate that giving to the international sector appears to be recession-proof, more accurate data released by *Giving USA* in 2013 reveals a reduction in international giving between 2008 and 2009 (from $21.9 billion to $17.6 billion), coinciding with the U.S. economic downturn. Although giving to the international sector does appear to be making a recovery, the progress is slow. This trend corroborates Michael Edwards' view that philanthrocapitalism and its resources are woefully inadequate to be able to effectively address the inadequacies in international development aid (Kremer et al. 2009).

A cursory glance at the current development literature depicts that of one-sidedness, as all major studies on philanthropic contribution to poverty reduction and agricultural development have been focused on Latin America and South Asian countries. Without a doubt, limited investigations have been done in the area of philanthropy and development as discovered through the literature reviewed so far, neglecting

key issues such as livelihood improvement, poverty reduction, and the fight against hunger diseases and starvation. This baffles me, because the northern sector of Ghana, and the whole country for that matter, is predominantly peasant agrarian, and yet little efforts have been made towards the area in terms of academic research. This state of affairs largely calls for an investigation. By exploring the link between philanthropy and poverty alleviation, this study further adds to the literature regarding how to effectively reap the goodwill of philanthropy in relation to agricultural development. Undoubtedly, it moreover adds to the litany of activities on donor funding and more specifically philanthropy.

In summary, the opposing framework to that of neo-Gramscianism and Bourdieu's theoretical framework on philanthropy is the view held by the neoliberalists. This group of believers seeks to reduce the size of government and state involvement in the welfare of the citizenry, which has fuelled the perception that philanthropy and its institutions are a viable means to solve collective problems (Salamon 1995). Due to the nature of wealth possessed by a few philanthropists such as Bill Gates, George Soros and others, as well as due to a growing worldwide gap between the rich and poor, the UN Development Program, (2005) also joined the group and called for more dependence on philanthropy to solve collective problems. In this neoliberal context, philanthropy and other institutions of civil society are frequently offered as a panacea for resolving problems of social welfare (McLean and Magazine 2006), creating social capital and ultimately allowing us to be more fully human (Brooks 2006). I am concerned that these potential contributions of philanthropy may be compromised, as philanthropy is increasingly conflated with profit-oriented motives. Therefore, neo-Gramscianism and Bourdieu's theoretical framework of symbolic

exchanges have been seen to be most suitable for this exercise. Hence, the theoretical framework for this thesis hinges purely on Bourdieu's context of giving and reciprocity. According to Bourdieu, there is no such thing as gratuitous gift, as claimed by philanthropic practitioners and other aid donation agencies (Bourdieu 1998). Bourdieu's hypothetical framework best describes the modus operandi of modern philanthropy.

2.7 Conclusion

Philanthropy is a field that is still emerging, still seeking a clear identity, and still trying to figure out its core assumptions and aspirations. Global philanthropy gradually seeks to address social and environmental needs to a great degree. The higher nature of transaction costs of grant financing can leave philanthropists frustrated as they seek to make a difference; perhaps this explains why philanthropic organizations have exerted a lot of influence over their activities to the detriment of their benefactors, leading to several condemnations by critics in the literature. Invariably, the role of the discourse as shown in the literature has a lot of positives and negatives, which have been clearly brought to light in the review (Martin 2011). As regards poverty alleviation, philanthropy could be helpful or unhelpful based on the exact situation you are looking at.

This researcher agrees with the view that philanthropy has a taller mountain to climb if philanthropists and foundations really want to move it to a stage where it could influence the globe on a larger scale.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONCEPT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT: LIVELIHOOD IMPROVEMENTS AND THE ROLE OF THE NEW PHILANTHROPY

3.1 Introduction

The economy of Ghana, just like other Sub-Saharan African countries is agrarian with the agricultural sector of the Ghanaian economy being dominated by smallholder farming. The country depends heavily on agriculture in terms of employment, food security and income. Therefore, the promotion of the rural economy in a sustainable way has the potential of increasing employment opportunities in rural areas, reducing regional income disparities, stemming pre-mature rural-urban migration, and ultimately reducing poverty at its very source in the long run (Anríquez and Stamoulis 2007). Furthermore, the development of rural areas may contribute to the conservation and safeguarding of the rural landscape, the protection of indigenous cultures and traditions while rural societies could serve as a social buffer for the urban poor in periods of economic crisis or social urban unrest (ibid).

Nonetheless, development policies and programmes at national level and resource mobilization at both national and international levels have not always recognized the multiple potential of the rural economy (Al-Hassan and Poulton 2009; Anríquez and Stamoulis 2007). Anríquez and Stamoulis further argue that public policies and investments in developing countries have historically favoured industrial, urban and service sectors at the expense of agricultural and other rural development initiatives.

This chapter presents a discussion of the conceptual information on livelihoods, stakeholders involved in livelihood initiatives and socioeconomic background of Ghanaian rural communities as well as smallholder farmers. The chapter also looked at the relevance of Ghana's developmental initiatives on the improvement of livelihoods. The various neoliberal livelihoods improvement initiatives undertaken in Ghana have also been examined. The chapter begins with a discussion on the development profile of Ghana, the state of livelihoods, and the resources available.

3.2 Development Profile of the Republic of Ghana

The purpose of this section is to elaborate on the background information with regards to the socioeconomic features of Ghana, which in effect, sets the tone for the overall discussions. Ghana was formed from the merger of the British colony of the Gold Coast and the Togoland trust territory. In 1957, Ghana became the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain its independence from Britain. Sixty years along the path of freedom, high levels of poverty, unemployment, insufficient growth, inappropriate wealth distribution and inequity in spatial development are some of the critical problems still facing the country, especially at the local level (Oduro-Ofori 2011). These put enormous pressure on the central government to find innovative ways of addressing these pressing development challenges (ibid). It is argued that the post-independence development policies and objectives of the country for a very long stretch of time focused on macroeconomic central planning and the attainment of positive macroeconomic indicators. Most of these developmental policies were guided by central analysis of the most profitable applications of funds and a planned use of resources, a planned expansion of skilled manpower, increase of export

earnings and sources of foreign loans with a high degree of central control and management (ibid).

The fundamental basic assumption behind this line of thought was that growth would be accelerated, and once emphasized, economic growth and development would be a way to eradicate poverty. Oduro-Ofori (2011) therefore contends that the net effect of this style of planning for development was poor, as programmes for poor and depressed local areas did not lead to any active involvement of local actors, namely communities, and local administrative units. Hence, these programmes became meaningless and of little value to the local areas and their inhabitants. This led to the emergence of fewer centres with monopolies over central resources and decision-making powers. This also made large areas of the country to play a dependency role (ibid). Diaw (1994) argues that, as a result of these developments in the country, development programmes from the central government failed to promote any flexibility in a self-sustaining process of development on their own. This is attributable to undue interferences and the political conditions that were attached to them (ibid). All these persistent top-down planning helped raise new thoughts which emphasize that a fundamental shift in policy needs to take place in programmes of development, since these programmes are bound to have fundamental effects on socioeconomic changes in Ghana (ibid).

Ghana embarked on its Economic Recovery Program in 1983. According to the Washington Consensus position, rapid economic growth was expected to follow the introduction of a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), which was a condition for international development loans in the mid-80s (Moikowa 2005). By the close of the

1980s, Ghana[1] emerged as a serious star pupil, a front-runner in the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) (Leechor 1994; Awal 2012). Ghana's SAP, christened the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), and was implemented between 1983 and 1987 under the military regime led by Jerry John Rawlings. This period was touted as a notable recovery effort, which, in the view of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is evidence of the 'common sense' underlying the policy prescriptions of SAPs (Awal 2012). Yet, in addition to the much talked about the success story of the Economic Recovery Programme, there has emerged incontrovertible evidence of a serious human cost of adjustment with severe economic implications, according to Boafo-Arthur (1999) this situation was compounded by declining world prices for Ghana's export products, which brought a lot of economic hardships to the ordinary Ghanaian.

Any talk of strategies for livelihood improvements and development policies in general must take into account the local condition of the region or country in question, and its population structure. Table 3.1 shows the distribution of land area, population, and some other demographic variables.

[1] Ghana occupies a total land area of about 239,460 sq. km and Population (2014 est.): 25,758,108 (growth rate: 2.19%); birth rate: 31.4/1000; infant mortality rate: 38.52/1000; life expectancy: 65.75. The country Ghana is a West African country bordering on the Gulf of Guinea; Ghana is bounded by Côte d'Ivoire to the west, Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east, and the Atlantic Ocean to the south. It compares in size to Oregon, and its largest river is the Volta (World Bank, 2014).

Table 3.1: The Distribution of Land Area and Population According to Regions

Regions	Land Area	Population	Urban population	Rural population	Age Range (15-64) Years
All Regions	238,533	24,658,823	12,545,229	12,113,594	14,040,893
Western	23,921	2,376,021	1,007,969	1,368,052	1,359,590
Central	9,826	2,201,863	1,037,878	1,163,985	1,213,660
Greater Accra	3,245	4,010,054	3,630,955	379,099	2.611,312
Volta	20,570	2,118,252	713,735	1,404,517	1,168,070
Eastern	19,323	2,633,154	1,143,918	1,489,236	1,471,315
Ashanti	24,389	4,780,380	2,897,290	1,883,090	2,772,031
Brong Ahafo	39,557	2,310,983	1,028,473	1,282,510	1,274,454
Northern	70,384	2,479,461	750,712	1,728,749	1,260,064
Upper East	8,842	1,046,545	219,646	826,899	540,345
Upper West	18,476	702,110	114,653	587,457	367,065

Source: Awuah-Werekoh (2015)

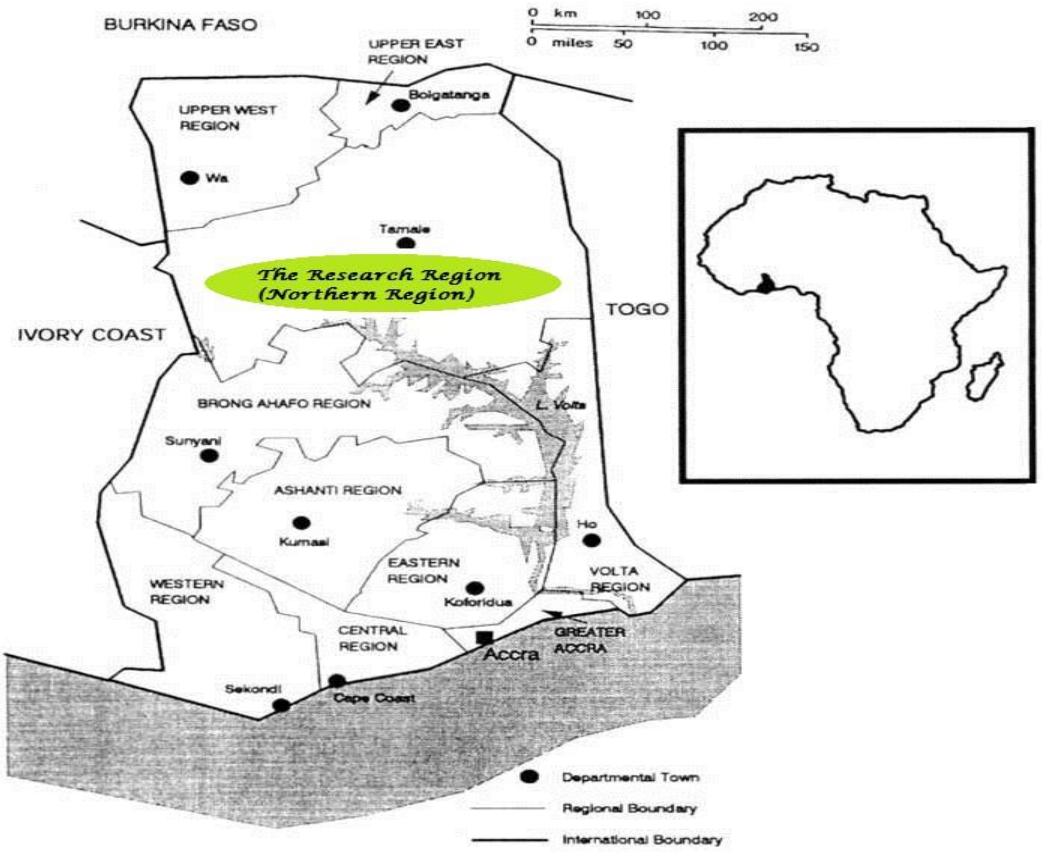
Ghana has recently been classified as a lower middle-income country as a result of re-basing; Ghana's average annual total GDP growth rate is around 4.9. The country's attainment of lower middle-income status has been consolidated by meeting some of the targets set out by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): halving extreme poverty (MDG 1), halving the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water (MDG 7), universal primary education (MDG 2) and gender parity in primary school (MDG 3) have now been attained (UNDP 2015a). However, there is a risk that poverty in Northern Ghana will remain high and the income gap between the North and the rest of Ghana will further widen, especially if oil production grows as expected. This notion is one of the reasons behind this study. Subsequent chapters discuss the nature of poverty in the area (Al-Hassan and Poulton 2009).

The country, however, remains somewhat dependent on international financial and technical assistance as well as remittances from an extensive Ghanaian diaspora,

although Ghana's economic growth is shaped by consistent agricultural growth, which has played an important role in this impressive development over the years (Senadza and Laryea 2012).

There is broad agreement among policy makers and researchers that the agricultural sector will have to continue to play an important role in Ghana's future development. Gold, cocoa, timber, diamonds, bauxite, and manganese continue to be the country's main exports and major sources of foreign exchange.

Figure 3.1: Map of Ghana's 10 Administrative Regions with Capitals



Source: Modified from Stump (1998).

3.3 Community Development as the Best Approach to Rural Development and Livelihhods

Community Development can be seen as an approach to rural development as it focuses more on interacting human beings within a geographical boundary, while rural development embraces more an ecological perspective (Pyakuryal 1993). Rural development as a development concept has evolved through time because of changes in the perceived mechanisms and / or goals of development, rural refers to development that benefits rural populations; where development is understood as the sustained improvement of the population's standards of living or welfare (Anríquez and Stamoulis 2007).

All over the world, the theoretical dimensions of community development have been translated into practice to promote tangible development in deprived communities over the past century. According to Briggs et al. (1997), community development was actively promoted from the late 1950s up to the 1960s throughout the developing world as part of the state building process and as a means of raising standards of living by governments and by the United Nations through its affiliated institutions as part of independence and decolonization movements in Africa. The provision of infrastructure was perceived as a means of modernizing the so-called primitives of the less developed realm of the world (Bonye et al. 2013). Therefore, the government of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) initiated steps in the early 1940s to promote community development. This effort culminated in the setting up of the Community Development Department by the state as early as 1948 to focus on rural development (ibid). Currently, the practice of community development in Ghana has received support from both the state and development partners. Various international

and local organizations have been contributing to community development over the years; the community members themselves are equally contributing with or without any state support for the development of their communities (Bonye et al. 2013).

During the early 1990s up to this point, local communities have responded in large numbers to some successful community development programmes that governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) initiated in the area of health and family planning, education, agriculture, and infrastructure, etc (Boafo-Arthur 1999). For example, in the 1990s, the Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) was fashioned by the government. It aimed, among other things, at developing and rehabilitating rural housing (ibid). Community development programmes received substantial support from governments and donor agencies. As a result, many governments promoted development projects that aimed at and income generation and social regeneration. The main idea behind these projects was to address poverty, hunger, disease, among the rural and urban poor (ibid).

Nevertheless, it is forcibly argued that in Ghana, over 50 years of development aid, strategies and efforts have apparently not succeeded in improving the standard of living of the majority of the population (Briggs et al. 1997). The attempts by the government, the IMF and the World Bank, over the last three decades, to implement programmes (ibid), policies and strategies designed to halt the declining trends of poor living standards of the people and create a favourable atmosphere for sustained economic growth and prosperity have achieved minimal success.

AGRA is seen as a response to the calls made by African leaders (in the 2006 African Union Abuja summit) to enable smallholder farmers to prosper (Moyo et al. 2009). It also responds to and endorses the African Union's Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) (Moyo et al. 2009). The alliance claims to be conscious of the multifaceted challenges faced by Africa's small-scale farmers and seeks to respond in a comprehensive manner to both on- and off-farm constraints. AGRA's main goal is to increase the productivity and profitability of smallholder farming using technological, policy and institutional innovations that are environmentally and economically sustainable (ibid).

3.4 Livelihoods Debate in Ghana

In Ghana, as part of a retreat from the unbridled neo-liberalism of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) policies, the country has been practicing what is called a 'sustainable rural livelihood' (SRL) approach, which stresses rural risk management aimed at reducing vulnerability (Dugbazah 2007; Carney 1998). The SRL has the unique goal of helping people to develop resilience to external shocks and to increase the overall sustainability of their livelihoods (Ibid). However, a seemingly irreversible trend of increased vulnerability had already been put in motion as a result of the adverse effects of the neoliberal policies, which Ghana had been religiously pursuing (Zachariah and Conde 1982).

It would be far better if philanthropic foundations focused on how to create political and economic institutions that include the poor in the on-going benefits of social cooperation (Wichmann and Petersen 2013). The philanthropist transformation of problems of poverty into the duties of rescue rivets attention on saving the victims

(ibid). Thus, philanthropy tends to deflect attention away from investigations of the institutional causes of hunger; philanthropy tends to limit discussion of these radical alternatives (Gomberg 2002).

There is no doubt that Ghana as a developing economy riddled with a lot of infrastructural deficits. Extreme poverty levels in most part of the country have always been an obstacle to development, though efforts have been made to curb it. Poverty is predominantly a rural phenomenon in Ghana. The National Development Planning Commission of Ghana (NDPC), an establishment that provides the policy framework for the country's development, estimates that over seventy-eight per cent (78%) of Ghana's poor live in rural areas, with food crop farmers being among the poorest (NDPC 2015). Almost a decade ago, Ghana became the first country in Sub Saharan Africa to halve extreme poverty by 2010, ahead of the 2015 deadline. This was because a significant proportion of the population living below the national poverty line was cut down from 36.5% to 18.2% between 1991 and 2006 (Lomotey 2015). The poverty line is the minimum amount of money that one needs in order to obtain the basic needs of life (food) (ibid). The poverty line is normally set to help distinguish the poor from the non-poor. Currently, the United Nations measures extreme poverty as people living on less than $1.25 daily, which is at the moment less than five Ghanaian Cedi. Ghana reached this Millennium Development Goal target of halving extreme poverty (Lomotey 2015; Sundong 2005).

In order to determine the impacts of the new philanthropy on livelihoods, it is always important to put records straight as to what the research means by livelihoods, and how they affect people’s wellbeing. Livelihood as a concept has been extensively discussed among many academics and development practitioners (Boateng 2013).

Ellis (2000) suggests that livelihood is the set of activities, assets, and access that jointly determine the living gained by an individual or household. Research on livelihoods studies is not a new phenomenon in Ghana. The Ghanaian government's statistical department started to conduct surveys to assess the standard of living and poverty levels of various regions in 1988 (Ghana Statistical Service 2014). This is a nationwide household survey designed to generate information on living conditions in the country. This survey, the Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS), has been continued inconsistently. The last survey, GLSS 6, covered a period of twelve (12) months from 18th October 2012 to 17th October 2013 (ibid).

The GLSS6 had two unique features. First, it included a Labour Force Survey module with additional sections on Child Labour; second, the survey methodology was reviewed to account for the inclusion of additional indicators pertaining to the northern savannah ecological zone, where a major Government initiative, the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) had just been initiated. The GLSS6 is considered the most reliable of the six (Aidoo 2012). The survey covered a nationally representative sample of 18,000 households in 1,200 enumeration areas. Of the 18,000 households, 16,772 were successfully enumerated, leading to a response rate of 93.2% (ibid). Detailed information was collected on the demographic characteristics of households: education, health, employment, migration and tourism, housing conditions, household agriculture, household expenditure, income and their components, and access to financial services, credit and assets. A summary of the main findings of the survey is presented below. It is more detailed and reached more respondents than previous surveys. According to the GLSS6, the proportion of male-headed households (69.5%) is higher than that of

females (30.5%); the proportion being much higher in rural savannah (83.6%) compared to the rural coastal zone 61.9% (Ghana Statistical Service 2014). The proportion of female-headed households is higher in the rural coastal zone (38.1%) than in all other localities, with the lowest (16.4%) in the rural savannah (ibid). The savannah area consists of all the three regions of northern Ghana on which this thesis focuses. This confirms the argument in chapter four that men dominate in household headship in the Northern Region. The probable explanation is that the active age group migrates to the urban areas for educational purposes or to seek employment opportunities, while the aged move back to their hometowns or villages after retirement from active work.

According to the most recent GLSS survey, more than 2.2 million Ghanaians cannot afford to feed themselves, with 2,900 calories per adult equivalent of food per day, even if they were to spend all their expenditures on food. Although the absolute number living in extreme poverty has reduced over time, it is still quite high, given the fact that Ghana is considered to be a lower middle-income country (Ghana Statistical Service 2014). Amongst the ten administrative regions, the incidence of poverty and the poverty gap are not evenly distributed. Greater Accra has a very low level (5.6%) of poverty incidence, which is 18.6 percentage points lower than the national rate of poverty (Cooke et al. 2016). The lowest level of inequality is found in the Greater Accra region. The implication of this is that some districts, communities or groups of people in certain regions, especially in the Northern Region is being left behind and is missing out on recent economic growth (ibid). Cooke et al. further argue that going forward, national policy will need to address this phenomenon and ensure that the poorest benefit more equitably and proportionally. The same cannot

be said of the three northern regions, which comprise mainly savannah areas. In fact, poverty is more prevalent in northern Ghana than southern Ghana. The World Bank (2012) revealed that the number of the poor increased by nearly one million in northern Ghana, while in southern Ghana the number was rather reduced by 2.5 million (Pionce 2016). Northern Ghana also experiences more food insecurity: according to USAID Ghana, Northern Ghana experiences seven times more food insecurity than the national average. Indeed, more than four in every ten persons are poor in Upper East (44.4%), increasing to one in every two in the Northern Region (50.4%) and seven out of every ten in Upper West (70.7%) (Ghana Statistical Service 2014). The puzzle here is that, even among the three northern regions of Ghana, there are very wide differences between their rates of poverty incidence, irrespective of the closeness of the regions and whether the regions concerned share boundaries. Table 3.2 below shows the regional poverty profile for 2006 and 2013.

Table 3.2: Incidence of Poverty by Regions

Region	Poverty incidence (P_0)	Contribution to total poverty (C_0)	Poverty gap (P_1)	Contribution to total poverty gap (C_1)	Poverty incidence (P_0)	Contribution to total poverty (C_0)	Poverty gap (P_1)	Contribution to total poverty gap
2012/13					***2005/06***			
Western	20.9	7.9	5.7	6.8	22.9	7.3	5.4	5.0
Central	18.8	6.9	5.6	6.4	23.4	6.4	5.6	4.4
Greater Accra	5.6	3.8	1.6	3.5	13.5	5.9	3.7	4.7
Volta	33.8	12.1	9.8	11.0	37.3	8.7	9.2	6.2
Eastern	21.7	9.3	5.8	7.8	17.8	7.5	4.2	5.2
Ashanti	14.8	12.0	3.5	9.0	24.0	12.6	6.4	9.8
Brong Ahafo	27.9	11.4	7.4	9.4	34.0	9.8	9.5	7.9
Northern	50.4	20.8	19.3	24.9	55.7	21.0	23.0	25.2
Upper East	44.4	7.4	17.2	9.0	72.9	10.9	35.3	15.3
Upper West	70.7	8.4	33.2	12.3	89.1	10.0	50.7	16.4

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2014)

From the above table, it is easily observed that poverty reduction is skewed in favour of the most urbanised regions such as Greater Accra and Ashanti. In much of the rest of the country, poverty in both urban and rural areas fell only marginally. In the rural areas of the northern part, the percentage of those defined as poor has actually increased. However, although poverty in the Upper West region is highest amongst the ten regions, the region contributes less than ten per cent to the national poverty level, due to the fact that it is the smallest region in terms of population (NDPC, 2015). Indeed, of the 6.4 million persons who are deemed poor in Ghana, only half a million are from the Upper West region, whilst the Northern region with a poverty incidence of 50.4% accounts for one-fifth (20.8%) or 1.3 million of the poor in Ghana, making this region the highest single contributor to the level of poverty in Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service 2014). This shows that the locality has benefited very little from overall poverty reduction programmes. Of course, some gains have been made over the course of the years shown on the table: between 2006 and 2013. The table nonetheless shows a substantial drop in the incidence of extreme poverty across the country, an indication that a lot of progress has been made over the past seven years in every part of the country (ibid).

However, the reduction of extreme poverty in Ghana was largely concentrated in seven of the ten regions. Poverty is still very much endemic in the rural areas and the three northern areas of the country, Upper East, Upper West and the Northern Region (ActionAid 2015). In Ghana, rapid urbanisation has resulted in a reduction in poverty rates, but the case is not the same in the northern part of the country (Lomotey 2015). As previously mentioned, the effect of this is that some districts, communities or groups of people in certain regions, especially in the Northern

Region are being left behind and are missing out on recent economic growth (Cooke et al. 2016). This is shown clearly in Table 3.2 above.

Rather than relying on an idealised notion of rural livelihoods situation and strategies employed by the state to improve upon livelihoods, the next section discusses the core concepts of the rural livelihood improvement initiatives of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA).

3.5 Government and Non-State Actors in Development

The past few decades have seen the integration of non-state actors in public service delivery with the introduction of global neoliberal reforms (Johnston 2015). Johnston further argues that governance as a theoretical and taxonomical construct captured the relationship between state and non-state actors in the formulation of policy and delivery of public services.

Livelihood improvement is taking place through an array of state and non-state networks where state and non-state actors are increasingly being employed in the formulation and implementation of programmes and projects that seek to improve the livelihoods of the poor (Johnson 2015; Antwi 2009). The term non-State actors are a superordinate concept that encompasses all those actors in international relations that are not State [s] (Wagner 2013). Non-state actors as used in this thesis referred to individuals and organizations that act on behalf of the ideals and the institutions they represent. Non-state actors consist of philanthropic organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other multinational establishments (ibid). For the purposes of this discussion, the non-state actors as employed in this

conceptual framework consist of philanthropic backed Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) and its local partners (local NGO's).

The next section seeks to understand the State (Ghana) policy framework for Philanthropy and how this policy framework influences procedures and guidelines for sourcing and utilization of philanthropic resources to support rural development objectives.

3.5.1 The State Policy Framework for Philanthropy

The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana provides a long-term national development strategy through the Directive Principles of State Policy which requires that every Government pursue policies that would ultimately lead to the 'establishment of a just and free society', where every Ghanaian would have the opportunity to live a long, productive, and meaningful life (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2010). It is on the basis of this constitutional obligation that several policies and programmes to accelerate the growth of the economy and raise the living standards of citizens have been pursued with varying degrees of success. To this end, the government of Ghana framed the Ghana Aid Policy and Strategy to achieve full alignment and improvement of aid resources; the Government of Ghana and the private sector generally also consider philanthropy as a significant sector for development and poverty reduction (Senadza and Laryea 2012).

The Ghana Aid Policy and Strategy, therefore, provides principles, policies, and strategies to government, development partners, philanthropy, civil society organizations and other stakeholders in the management and coordination of aid in

Ghana. Similarly, it provides the guidelines and procedures for the sourcing and utilization of aid to support national development objectives.

However, this policy framework as well as previous policies before it was fashioned on bureaucratic procedures shaped by external conditionalities of the World Bank and the IMF, which placed much value on increasing efficiency and reducing economic decline rather than on enhancing social equity (Whitfield 2010). Some domestic criticisms of the policy also exist, apart from the criticism of it not being holistic in nature (this explains why philanthropy and other sectors have been lumped together in this policy). According to Sackey (2010), the framers of the policy failed to ensure that strong linkages existed between the Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning (MoFEP), which is the coordinating agency, and other MDAs. They also failed to ensure the non-alignment of development partners' commitments to the Government of Ghana's priorities (ibid).

The above narrative revealed that there is currently no clear-cut policy set aside for philanthropy. However, recent developments in the international arena, particularly the inception of the United Nation Post-2015 Partnership Platform for Philanthropy in 2014, serve as vanguards for a developing country such as Ghana to now begin offering some levels of attention to philanthropy. The Ghana platform was launched on 9 July 2015 to discuss how to join forces to collectively implement the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals under the auspices of the United Nations. The emerging consensus regarding the rationale for the active promotion of this by the United Nations and the World Bank is that, by bringing innovation and successful methodologies from their business experience to development ecosystems, new philanthropists can have a transformative impact at both a national and local level

(Morvaridi 2016). This endorsement opens up a new space for philanthropy to exercise influence over development strategy, particularly in relation to the post-2015 development agenda and increases the power of new philanthropists to shape development around a market-based approach using business sector models (UNDP 2015b).

Driving the relationship between philanthropy and development, the United Nations Post-2015 Partnership Platform for Philanthropy has the foremost aim of building a means of philanthropy to participate more effectively in the Post-2015 Agenda, and amplify the voice and action of grantees in determining and achieving international targets and strategies (Morvaridi 2016). The UNDP, the Foundation Centre, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation, the MasterCard Foundation and the Ford Foundation to support this project (ibid).

It was during the launch of the Ghana platform that the government reaffirmed the fact that no attention has been given to philanthropy as a separate discourse. A Deputy Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, Ms Mona Quartey, in making a case for the government, explained that philanthropy and traditional development actors have not been natural allies, noting how foundations have focused on their own priorities, sometimes intersecting with those of traditional development actors and governments while viewing other actors as bureaucratic and inefficient (UNDP 2015). As a result, the government has regarded these foundations as independent funding ‘gap fillers’ (ibid). This aligns with Jenkins’ (2010) argument that philanthropy can be seen as either pioneers by starting a new innovative project or gap fillers by picking up where the government can no longer afford to be or cannot reach.

The analysis in this chapter questions the assumptions behind the idea that the new philanthropy has the capacity to be a 'third force' capable of supplanting the strength of the state in marshalling the needed resources for poverty reduction in the face of less recognition and attention, as in the case of philanthropy in Ghana.

3.5.2 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

NGOs as part of non-state actors all over the world are offering innovative and people-centred approaches to service delivery, advocacy and empowerment (Banks and Hulme, 2012). Besides, sustained donor distrust and frustrations with states and governments generated and fuelled interest in NGOs as desirable alternatives, viewing them favourably for their representation of beneficiaries and their role as innovators of new technologies and ways of working with the poor (Murray and Overton 2011; Lewis 2002). NGOs today form a prominent part of the "development machine", in the developing world and are generally seen to be playing an increasingly important role in development (ibid). They are recognized as an indispensable part of society and the economy. In fact, they are sometimes referred to as the "third sector" (Gyamfi 2010: 15). According to Turner and Hulme (1997), NGOs are associations formed from within civil society, bringing together persons who share some common purpose. In the past, NGOs were seen as peoples' organizations that were both not part of the state structure, not primarily motivated by commercial considerations or profit maximization and were largely self-governing with voluntary contributions Hulme (Hulme 2001).

However, Banks and Hulme (2012) argue that NGOs could no longer be viewed as the autonomous, grassroots-oriented organisations that they once were, raising

questions about their legitimacy, sustainability and accountability. Imposing an accountability mechanism on NGO's and other philanthropic actors is complex given the increasing diversity of partnerships involved in delivering services to the smallholding farmers and the poor? It also brings into question some of the most fundamental political motivations and structures that underpin these partnerships. Banks and Hulme (2012: 24) contend that growth in civil society organisations that develop either for their own purposes or from a supply-side, service based approach should be curtailed and that in its place a 'demand-side' approach should be established that would assist 'communities to articulate their concerns and participate in the development process, keeping NGOs bonded and accountable to civil society.

That is not to say NGO's are irrelevant. The important role that NGOs can play in civil society is in their advocacy work to empower the poor, women and vulnerable groups and strengthen their bargaining power to defend their own rights (ibid). This would necessitate a supply-side, service-based approach should be curtailed and that in its place a 'demand-side' approach should be established a return to their original mission as a facilitator and supporter of broader civil society activity rather than service delivery.

3.5.2.1 NGOs and the New Philanthropy-are they really the same?

Lewis (1998) maintains that NGOs are not exactly the same us philanthropic organisations, however, in recent times they have collaborated effectively through partnership. NGO/philanthropic partnerships normally involve working together through continuing negotiation, communication and sometimes debate or conflict.

Clarke (1998) for example, discusses how NGOs and philanthropic foundations have worked closely in the developing world focusing on issues such as human rights, gender, health, agricultural development and social welfare in community development.

As discussed in chapter two, the new philanthropy, however, is characterized by a mix of civil society, non-governmental, religious, and voluntary organizations, distinguished by their capacity to generate private resources to contribute to public purposes (Srivastava and Oh 2010). Weisbrod (1977) as cited in (Liket 2014) argues that the philanthropic sector is able to respond to problems that go beyond the borders of any given country (e.g., climate change), or problems that only affect a small group of people (e.g., Asperger syndrome). Hayman (2015) as mentioned in Morvaridi (2015) writes that many well-known NGOs trace their origins to private individuals who make contributions to an array of charitable causes both domestically and internationally. Examples of some private foundations which have long-established presence in the international development field, and have been working with several NGOs include; the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Open Society Foundations and most recently, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (ibid).

3.5.3 Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa's (AGRA) Interventions for Smallholder Farmers

In 2005, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Rockefeller foundation began an exploration of several new areas for program funding, including agricultural development. The two foundations had previously worked together successfully in

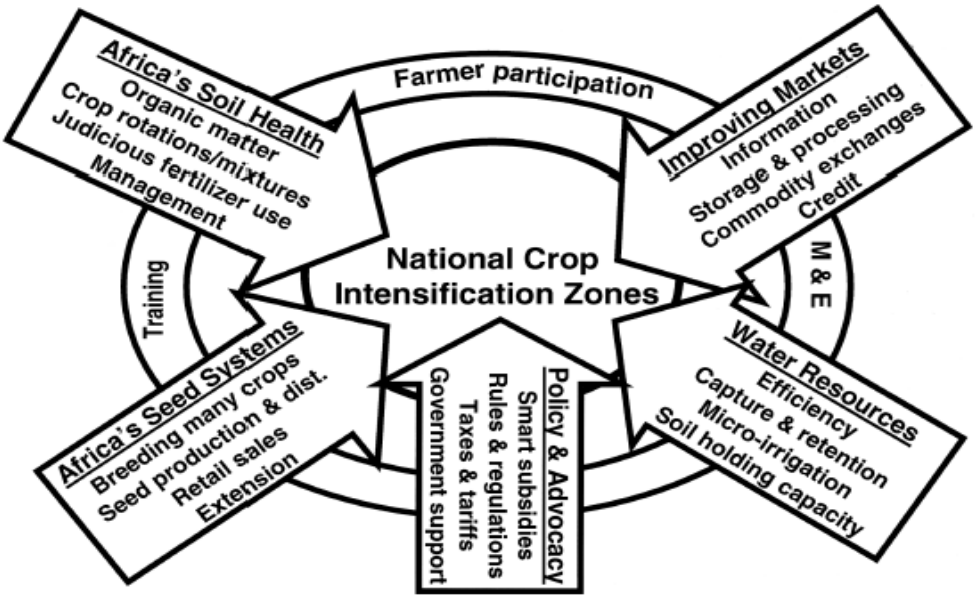
the health sector and saw real opportunities to do the same in agriculture. Initially the discussions concentrated on seed systems (Toenniessen et al. 2008). However, a decision was later made to establish a more comprehensive partnership for agricultural development in Africa that would build on current Rockefeller Foundation support for seeds, soils, and markets; it would expand to include work on the extension of water resources, policy, and other interventions as necessary, and attract complementary financial commitments from national and international sources.

Subsequently, AGRA was established in 2006 to implement this all-inclusive funding program in Africa in response to widespread malnutrition, higher food prices, the threat of climate change and an increased global population, with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation providing $100 million of the initial capital in addition to $50 million from the Rockefeller Foundation. AGRA now has an eight-member board of directors, including five distinguished Africans (Toenniessen et al. 2008). Former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi A. Annan served as chairman from 2006 to 2014; his deputy Mr Strive Masiyiwa succeeded Annan. Recently, Dr A. Namanga Ngongi, a former executive deputy director of the World Food Program, was elected as AGRA's president (ibid). Two Rockefeller Foundation program officers remain seconded to work full-time for AGRA, one as vice president for policy and partnerships and one as director of the Program for Africa's Seed Systems. Several additional program officers have been hired by AGRA, and more professional staff is being recruited. Although the full extent of AGRA's funding programs is still evolving, they are being developed within the context of the

comprehensive African agricultural development program established by African leaders through the new partnership for Africa's Development (Brainard 2009).

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has reportedly spent $2 billion from 2007 to 2012 to combat hunger in Africa (Holt-Giménez 2008; Patel 2013). AGRA's Mission is to *increase the productivity, profitability and sustainability of Africa's small-scale farmers.* This was on the backdrop of the persistent calls by the World Bank for investment to support smallholder agriculture, both to alleviate poverty and increase food production (Who 2005; Holt-Giménez 2008). AGRA was designed to work across the continent, take a comprehensive approach up and down the value chain in countries where it could make an immediate impact, and actively engage farmers throughout the process. The figure below outlines all AGRA's projects in Africa.

Figure 3.2: Funding Programmes of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa



Source: (Toenniessen et al. 2008).

Thompson (2012) further highlighted the real position of AGRA activities in Africa by pointing out that AGRA sought to expand through research and marketing of seed technologies, the opening up of African food markets, integrating the most prosperous smallholders into the singular global market, and the coordination of food policies within regions of Africa. To add his voice to the proponents of AGRA and its projects, Ejeta (2010) also alludes to the fact that AGRA finances research and production of private corporate seeds (many genetically modified [GM]) and expands their market delivery, along with their necessary components of fertilisers and pesticides. Similarly, Toenniessen et al. (2008), arguing in favour of AGRA claims the Program for Africa's Seed (PASS) project received an upfront commitment of $150 million ($100 million from Gates and $50 million from Rockefeller) and inherited the experienced Rockefeller team of program officers led by DeVries, who, in Toenniessen's estimation, had probably delivered more seeds to poorer African farmers than anyone worldwide. However, Thompson (2012) disagrees with this position by saying that AGRA-sponsored seeds are most often privatised by the corporate seed breeder and that farmers must buy the expensive seeds which cannot be replanted in the next generation, nor save or exchange the seeds among themselves for further experimentation in different soils or climes. Thompson further argues that four corporations control 58% of the global seed market, namely: Monsanto (USA, 27%), DuPont/Pioneer Seed (USA 17%), Syngenta (Switzerland, 9%), Groupe Limagrain (France, 5%).

Then again, Norman Borlaug, Nobel Prize Laureate for Peace, 1970 and other proponents of the Green Revolution argued that traditional agriculture simply would not have fed the growing population (ibid). They also maintained that Green

Revolution practices had environmental benefits in the form of reduced deforestation, noting that without improvements in yields, Asian countries would have needed to farm twice as much land—an additional 1.1 billion hectares—to feed their people (Bell et al. 2008). On the other hand, Thompson (2012) asserts that if the Gates Foundation were interested in assisting smallholder farmers, it would have spent funds to help them protect the vitality of their cultivators through greater environmental conservation, leading to greater successes. It would have honoured the food sovereignty choice of many governments and farmers in Southern Africa by rejecting GM seeds. Instead, the Gates Foundation (ibid), through AGRA contributed about US $23 million in 2010 to Monsanto to breed more GM products, to the detriment of the corporate call for uniform regional seed laws in that country.

Another positive attribute of AGRA is the attempt made to address challenges up and down of the value chain by improving farm inputs, making seeds and fertilizer accessible to farmers, supporting farmers through extension programs and water management, jumpstarting markets by nurturing local private seed companies and village-based agro-dealers, spearheading financing mechanisms for farmers, agro-dealers, seed companies, and processors, and engaging national governments in developing policies that would create an enabling environment for all of these changes (Thompson 2012 ; Toenniessen 2008). Despite all these, critics of the Green Revolution have pointed out that millions of smallholder farmers were either displaced from their land or excluded from a production system that required capital investment and irrigation, that human health problems and environmental degradation increased over the years from chemical use and run-off into the water supply, and that there was an overall net increase in the energy required to produce

a calorie of food as new techniques relied upon inputs produced from fossil fuels and often had to be transported across long distances (ibid). AGRA is not about saving starving Africans, these critics say, but rather, it finances the agenda of acquiring free genetic wealth to turn it into private gain (Thompson 2012). AGRA and its corporate allies engage in what many would call theft, not simply through the promotion of patents over living organisms, but also by refusing to share royalties or shared profits with those who provided the wealth of genetic materials in the first place (Hyánek and Hladká 2013).

AGRA's proponents point to Malawi's recent achievement as justification for Green Revolution policies in the continent. In 2002, a severe drought led to a devastating food crisis in Malawi and by 2005, Malawi was once again a food exporter (Scherer 2011). Government subsidies of imported fertilizers were to thank for this quick reversal, and AGRA has since proposed and lobbied on behalf of 'market-smart subsidies' in Kenya that allocate vouchers to stimulate the demand for fertilizers. True, output in Malawi did increase dramatically; nevertheless, this fix is short-sighted, as cheap inorganic fertilizer disincentives sustainable soil maintenance (ibid).

In agreement with Scherer, the jury is still out on the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa; it is too early to say for sure what the consequences – beneficial or detrimental – will be for Sub Saharan Africa's 70% smallholder population.

3.5.3.1 Agro-dealers and Private Delivery of Agricultural Inputs

This section discusses the concept of agro-dealers and their role in improving the livelihoods of smallholder farmers through agricultural inputs such as fertilizer,

seeds, and machinery. Agro-dealers' positions with regard to their working relationship with smallholder farmers will be examined in relation to their objective conditions and associated interests, practices, and dispositions. Agro-dealers, as previously mentioned in chapter five, are the primary conduit of seeds, fertilizers and knowledge to smallholder farmers according to AGRA. Several claims have been made about the significance of supporting agro-dealers as part of the new Green Revolution agenda to increase yields. With this in mind, the Gates-Rockefeller supported AGRA to train about 10,000 well-functioning agro-dealers throughout Africa over the first five-year phase of its Agro-dealer Development Programme (Patel 2012).

By 2009, AGRA reported that it had trained 9200 such dealers, who had sold over USD 45 million worth of seed, fertilizer and pesticide (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation 2012). Among these trainee agro-dealers are private companies, state agencies, philanthropists and NGOs, that work to secure smallholding farmers' access to credit to enable them to purchase seeds, pesticides and fertilizers (Scoones and Thompson 2011). Notable organisations working closely with AGRA on this agenda include: The Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs (CNFA), which operates its agro-dealer programme in five African countries, including Ghana, Kenya, Malawi and Zimbabwe, Catholic Relief Services, the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV), CARE, and IFDC, an international organization with local representation in Ghana, based in Tamale. All these organizations have identified supporting agro-dealers as a key route to supplying new technologies and advice to farmers (Scoones and Thompson 2011).

According to AGRA, the logic behind the establishment of the agro-dealer development programme is to strengthen networks of village-based agro-dealers to distribute seed developed through AGRA breeding programmes to remote farmers. It also supports the establishment of entrepreneurs who distribute seed and other agricultural inputs to farmers (African Centre for Biosafety 2012).

In Ghana, agro-dealers are mainly small to mid-sized retailers who distribute and sell key agriculture inputs such as fertilizer, seeds, and machinery. In 2008, AGRA provided a $2.5-million-dollar budget to the Ghana Agro-Dealer Development (GADD), who planned support 2,200 agro-dealers and 150 seed producers to make agricultural inputs more accessible to 850,000 small-scale farmers (World Bank 2012a). This project was implemented by the IFDC and GAABIC (see section 6.3 and Figure 6.2). Subsequently, the Ghana Agricultural Input Dealers Association (GAIDA) was formed in 2009 as the official union and a mouthpiece of most agro-dealers in the country (ibid). GAIDA has 156 members in the Northern Region and about 4,000 in all of Ghana, of which about half have been trained by MOFA (ibid). In spite of all these, current statistics put the use of agricultural inputs in the country at 10% of the recommended levels, due to the underdeveloped marketing system (UNECA, 2010).

Despite AGRA's involvement in the training and equipping of agro-dealers, a study by IFDC and IFPRI found out that about 79% of registered agro-dealers reported the lack of working capital as a top challenge in effectively running their businesses in the Northern Region (ibid). The problem with financing is consistent across all regions of the country and is a barrier to firms based in urban as well as rural areas.

3.5.3.2 Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) in Ghana

Al-Hassan and Poulton (2009) reveal that poverty and food insecurity in Ghana predated several agricultural related interventions (including Global Sasakawa 2000, the Agricultural Sub-Sector Improvement Program, the Root and Tuber Improvement Program, the Purdue Improved Cowpea Storage, among others). Numerous interventions are currently being implemented (for example, Agricultural Value Chain Mentorship Project, Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa's Soil Health Project (AGRA-SHP), the Block Farm Project, the Northern Rural Growth Program, among others) with others planned for the future potential in the area of climate-smart agriculture. Martey et al. (2013) cite the Integrated Soil Fertility Management (ISFM) being implemented by AGRA as having a positive effect on improving the soil fertility and soil health status of Ghanaian soil, AGRA has demonstrated its commitment to improving the health of the soils in northern Ghana by funding the Soil Health Project, which was implemented by CSIR-SARI between 2009 and 2013. As in the case of Ghana, AGRA's breadbasket Investment Plan focuses on increasing the cultivated area by about 150,000 hectares, increasing rice production from 150,000 tons to more than 350,000, and increasing maize production from 140,000 tons to beyond 300,000 tons in Ghana (AGRA 2013).

AGRA is also supporting Ghana's Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA) to implement the project at the community level. For example, farmers are being taught to plant crops for higher yields: in line and correctly spaced, rather than scattering them randomly. Farmers are also taught about manure, composting, appropriate fertilisers and the quantities to apply (ibid). Farmers involved in the initiative are required to have at least one acre of land in order to access credit facilities from the

bank to acquire farm inputs, such as fertilisers and quality seed from agro-dealers (ibid). AGRA acts as a guarantor for loans and, at harvest time, farmers pay for the inputs and services (such as ploughing), by selling part of their yield to local traders or markets. Initially, during land preparation, AGRA also strikes a deal with local plough owners, paying them directly so they do not demand payment from farmers who cannot afford the service. When farmers harvest, but are unable to market their produce due to oversupply, they are able to pay off the loan initially advanced to them by giving AGRA part of their harvest, equivalent to the initial loan extended to them as inputs and services. If farmers get low yields and are unable to pay back the loan, either with cash in kind, AGRA does not demand payment (AGRA 2013).

Moreover, AGRA in Ghana has operated integrated programmes in seeds, soils, market access, education and extension, efficient water management, and policy and partnerships, and provided innovative financing to trigger comprehensive changes across the agricultural system. The organization has set three main goals to be achieved by 2020: '(i) reduce food insecurity by 50 per cent in at least 20 countries; (ii) double the incomes of 20 million smallholder families (including youths); and (iii) put at least 30 countries on track for attaining and sustaining a uniquely African Green Revolution' (Lavizzari and Feenan 2012 : 42). For better appreciation of AGRA projects and programmes in Ghana, Appendix B contains a full list of them. Another classical example is the West Africa Centre for Crop Improvement (WACCI) at the University of Ghana. This was founded by AGRA in 2007 when the programme was launched, and received a grant of US $4.9m. Cornell University in the US received a US $1.7m grant from AGRA to provide academic support to the centres (ibid).

However, AGRA's emphasis on the profit motive as the driving force of economic development, and its long-term orientation towards the rolling out of Green Revolution technologies based on biotechnology, synthetic fertilisers and debt-driven commercialisation, place it on a potential collision course with the agro ecological approaches being endorsed by farmer-based sovereignty movements (Holt-Gimenez et al. 2008). According to Holt-Gimenez et al. (2008), the directions in which these contradictions might proceed are very much dependent on the strategies and actions taken by farmers and their independent associations and movements in Africa, both in response to AGRA, and in developing their own programmes and practices.

AGRA has also come under serious critique for applying technological and scientific remedies to convoluted social problems. Specifically, this whole arrangement creates a situation in which farmers have become powerless in many of the issues that affect their livelihoods. Another major concern raised, is the fact that AGRA's technological and scientific application imposition on African farmers leave them so dependent on multinational seed manufacturing companies (African Centre for Biosafety 2012). The use of some technologies promoted by AGRA may create a dependence on herbicides, which raises the possibility of super-weeds (Mittal and Moore 2007).

Problems of customary land tenure systems are similar in several aspects. For example, there is normally a recognized authority with land allocating and adjudicating powers, and the inheritance of land is the main mode of land acquisition (Bell et al. 2008). In other cases, systems are different, such as in the recognition of market-like land transactions and the promotion of secondary or derived rights to resources (ibid). Critics of customary land tenure systems, on the other hand, argue

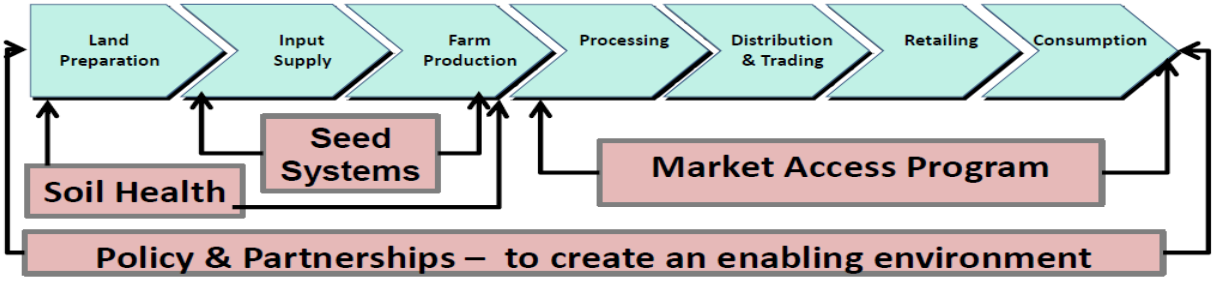
that these systems of land ownership are not inherently egalitarian, with certain clans favoured over others; they are usually biased against women and favour the rich and powerful (Etwire et al. 2013).

In the Northern Region of Ghana, AGRA pursues its agenda for a green revolution through a series of projects which fall under the four areas discussed above, but one flagship project worthy of discussing is the Agricultural Value Chain Mentorship Project (AVCMP). The AVCMP was launched in Tamale in September 2011. It is a sub-component of the Agricultural Value Chain Facility (AVCF) with the distinct aim of contributing towards achieving the national objective of achieving food security and becoming an industrial economy by strengthening the capacity of agro-dealers, small and medium enterprises (SMEs), farmer-based organizations (FBOs) and farmers throughout the value chain, turning it into a highly productive, efficient, competitive and sustainable system (AGRA 2013a).

The AVCMP is being funded by the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) in partnership with AGRA and is jointly implemented by the Savanna Agricultural Research Institute (SARI), the International Fertilizer Development Centre, the IFDC, and the Ghana Agricultural Associations Business Centre (GAABIC) (ibid). DANIDA provided a grant of US $2,833,750 for the commencement of the project in 2011 (AGRA 2014). The project is being implemented in sixteen districts in the Northern Region of Ghana, including the Saboba and Chereponi districts (Etwire et al. 2013). The AVCMP mainly identified FBOs who were animated or formed by previous projects. As a result, farmers participating in the AVCMP are relatively experienced in terms of participating in an agricultural project or being a member of a farmer-based organization. The concept of farmer-based organizations

has perhaps been widely accepted by all stakeholders of the agricultural sector, including AGRA. Other components of the AVCMP facility include mentorship services, meant to improve upon technical and business skills of farmers and their organizations, as well as SMEs, the upstream and downstream actors of the value chains. Figure 4.3 below depicts an AGRA's view of the workings of the value chain approach in dealing with the constraints of smallholder farmers (Duncan 2013; AGRA 2014).

Figure 3.3: AGRA's Value Chain Approach



Source: (UN 2010)

The farmers under this project were some of the key participants in this study. The core mandate of IFDC, SARI and ADRA under AVCMP consists of linking farmers directly to the project and supporting them with various technical and business development services, as well as offering them training on soil preparations and the best crop management practices. For instance, through the Integrated Soil Fertility Management (ISFM) of the AVCMP (see Chapter 6), farming technologies which needed to reach farmers to enhance productivity brought about the invention of the tri-cycle motor video technology. Integrated Soil Fertility Management technologies aimed at improving the fertility of the soil through the use of mineral fertilizer, organic

and other fertilizers that help to improve the overall health of the soil (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation 2012).

3.6 Smallholder Farmers and Rural Development

Conceptualizations of smallholder farming is much nuanced, farming in smallholding tend to be more difficult to measure (Chamberlin 2008). According to Thapa (2009) many of the definitions in the literature defines smallholder farmers as those with less than 2 hectares of cropland. While quantitatively precise definitions are elusive, in looking across a variety of working definitions –for Ghana and elsewhere (Yeboah 2013). However, some working definitions have been generally accepted in the academic literature. Ekboir et al. (2002) defined a smallholder farmer in Ghana as any farmer found in any part of the country (Ghana) that has less than 5 hectares of land to cultivate. Similarly, the World Bank defines smallholders as those with a low asset base, operating less than 2 hectares of cropland (World Bank 2003). Closely linked to that of the conception of smallholder farmers by World Bank is the one offered by Singh et al. (2002). According to Singh and others, that group of famers with marginal and sub-marginal farm households, cultivating less than 2.0 hectares of land should be referred to as smallholder farmers.

Base on the above characterization of smallholder farming, Nwanze (2011) argues that there are about 500 million smallholder farms worldwide, providing livelihoods for more than 2 billion people globally. In Asia and sub-Saharan Africa for instance, about 80% of the food consumed come from smallholder farming, this signifies how crucial and important farming on smallholding is to the rural development and the overall economic development in many developing countries (Anang et al. 2015).

3.6.1 Characteristics of Smallholder Farmers

In terms of the characteristics of smallholder farmers, small farm holdings in most developing countries contrast significantly with what pertains in most developed countries (Anang et al. 2015). While farms are becoming fewer and bigger in developed countries, they are becoming more and smaller in most developing countries (ibid). The theory of fragmentation explicitly explains why farms becoming fewer and bigger in developed countries whilst same are becoming more and smaller in most developing countries. The fragmentation theory as pointed in in section 1.2, explains this phenomenon, the theory argues that a developing economy whose manufacturing sector participates in international trade experiences fragmented chain of production essentially through assembly activities (Calfat and Rivas 2008). If the good produced by this economy is typified as parts and components, i.e. it is used as an intermediate by other industries, and then its production involves at least some skilled labour (ibid).

On the contrary, in countries or environments where good paying job opportunities exist outside farming, fewer people tend to farm larger land areas using labour-saving technologies like machinery and inorganic chemicals (Anang et al. 2015).

In Ghana, the various characterizations of smallholders are accompanied by differing estimates of such things as their contribution to the agricultural economy and incidence of poverty among them (Chamberlin 2007). This is demonstrated in a study by Nyanteng and Seini (2000), as noted by the authors, over 90% of the country's food production is derived from smallholder farmers, holdings of 3 ha or

less. In a similar vein, Owusu-Baah (1995) reports an estimated average farm size of 3.9 ha and noted that more than 50% of households own less than 3 ha (ibid).

3.6.2 Determinants of Improved Livelihoods among Smallholder Farmers

In Sub-Saharan Africa, development interventions from philanthropic projects, NGO's, Faith Based Organisations, community organizations and individuals have been widely accepted as a vanguard for improving famers' livelihood strategies. One major critic of the modus operandi of all of these organisations however is the fact that livelihood strategies are chosen without recourse to the livelihood assets and development priorities of smallholder farmers (Dengerink 2013). Yet, the outcomes of these livelihood interventions are expected to have direct impact on the livelihoods of farmers in terms of social, human, natural, physical and economic wellbeing (ibid).

Livelihood outcomes are the goals to which smallholder farmers aspire to of which improved access outcomes should manifest positively in a variety of ways. To begin with, access to road transportation has significant bearing on the unit cost of transportation of agricultural products from rural villages to the urban centres. Also, access to reliable supply of water will invariably ensure that farmers have the opportunity to farm all year round through irrigation farming. Others are; availability and the use of seeds and fertiliser could culminate in higher returns to yields just as availability of credit for the rural population have been reported to have led to better yields, higher incomes and more savings in a study of livelihoods of cocoa producing communities in Ghana by Dengerink (2013).

In summary, the results of pursuing philanthropic interventions and the patronage of should lead to increased income; high crop yields, increased well-being, improved food security, and increased farm sizes (Alinovi et al. 2010). Again, livelihoods outcomes are important because they help the analyst to understand the results of farmers' livelihoods needs and philanthropic strategies in a particular context, why farmers patronise philanthropic interventions and what their priorities are, and how smallholder farmers are likely to respond to new opportunities or constraints (Alinovi et al. 2010).

3.7 Conclusion

The chapter began with a discussion on the development of profile of Ghana, the state of livelihoods, and socioeconomic context of Ghanaian rural communities in general. The discussion then delves into the new forms of governance; the role of government and Non-State Actors in Development. In doing so, the background information on the livelihoods was provided. It also looked at the relevance of Ghana's developmental initiatives on the improvement of livelihoods. The relationship between philanthropy, power relations and empowerment was also examined. How the various authorities can offer a suitable platform for effective philanthropic collaboration, which will inure to the benefits of the smallholder farmer was analysed in detail.

This chapter has provided an essential background of livelihood outcomes, specifying the positive effects livelihood outcomes, showing how livelihood interventions are expected to have direct impact on the livelihoods of farmers in terms of social, human, natural, physical and economic wellbeing. The discussions in

this chapter leads us to the next chapter, which discusses the methodology and the overall field work experiences in the two research villages (Dungu and Cheshe).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

4.1 Introduction

In chapter two, the literature has been reviewed and the conceptual framework established in chapter three, this paves way for the research methodology and design to be presented and discussed. In this chapter, an explanation of how the research was conducted, and how the data was generated, analysed and interpreted have been presented. The first section highlights the philosophical assumptions and conceptual issues underpinning the research, and the selection of an interpretivist paradigm is justified. The second section discusses the data gathering techniques used in the fieldwork involving how the data were subsequently processed, collated and analysed. Finally, the chapter discusses the ethical issues and concerns that guided this study, the evaluation of the conduct of the fieldwork and the discussion of issues of reflexivity.

4.2 Philosophical Position

In order to set the tone for a general discussion of the philosophical underpinnings of this research, the following elements of a research paradigm ought to be discussed first: ontology, epistemology and methods. To begin with, ontology is the study of being; ontological assumptions are concerned with what constitutes reality, and in other words *what is* (Crotty 1998). As a result of the significance of ontological assumptions in a research, researchers have been called upon to make their positions known regarding their perceptions of how things really are and how things really work (Scotland 2012). Epistemology on the other hand is primarily concerned

with the nature and forms of knowledge (Cohen et al. 2007). With epistemology, the fundamental assumptions often made are concerned with how knowledge can be created, attained and transmitted, in other words what it means to know (ibid). Guba and Lincon (1994) sum it well in arguing that epistemology seeks to ask the question, what is the nature of the relationship between the would-be knower and what can be known? Lastly, research methodology guides the researcher, not only in choices of methods but also in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways (ibid). Simply put, methodology in research is concerned with the ways to understand the nature of knowledge that can be known by the researcher (Truong 2014; Guba and Lincon 1994).

Philosophical beliefs in research are very fundamental in the sense that they guide the researcher in deciding which methods to be employed as well as the how the research design is framed (Creswell 2009). Creswell (2007) further stressed that the set of beliefs that researchers bring to their project inform the conduct and writing of their study, as such, good research practice requires that these beliefs are explicitly made known in the writing of a study (Adu-Gyamfi 2013). This study was based on interpretivist epistemology. This study adopts the interpretive epistemology to conducting social science research. The interpretive epistemology puts a more premium and emphases on human beings and the way they interpret and make sense of social reality (Owolabi 2015). The interpretive epistemology employed in this section is framed in the debate of competing paradigms of ‘interpretivism’ vis-à-vis ‘positivism’ (Sonne 2010). This research relies on interpretative paradigm due to the fact that the research explores the significant contributions of philanthropy towards improving the conditions of smallholder farmers, smallholder farmers’

understanding of philanthropy, and the relationship that exists between philanthropic organisations and smallholder farmers. In doing this, strong emphasis is placed on locating the researcher in the field, focusing on interpretative material practices and representations as well as field notes, focus group discussions, interviews, pictures and recordings, in an attempt to gain access to smallholder farmers' comprehension of the philanthropy and livelihood connection (ibid).

The use interpretivist paradigm benefits this research significantly, as mentioned above; this study is concerned with exploring the significant contributions of philanthropy towards improving the conditions of smallholder farmers, smallholder farmers' understanding of philanthropy, and the relationship that exists between philanthropic organisations and smallholder farmers. Thus, interpretivist epistemology which focuses on knowledge gathering processes, (Grix 2002) and how reality should be represented or described falls in line with the philosophical stance adopted in this research that a social actor is knowing (see 4.4.2), active subject, who is aware of his/her own situation and possesses knowledge and can interpret knowledge regarding the surrounding society (Giddens 1984).

Furthermore, this study made use of interpretative epistemology for the reasons that interpretivists avoid rigid structural frameworks such as in positivist research and adopt a more personal and flexible research structures (Carson et al. 2001), it also ensures meanings are made out of human interaction and make sense of what is perceived as reality (ibid). As experimented during the fieldwork, the researcher and his informants were interdependent and mutually interactive leading to acquisition of substantial and credible information from interviewees (Hudson and Ozanne 1988). Hudson and Ozanne again argue that interpretivist researchers as in the case of this

research have the luxury of entering the research field with some sort of prior insight of the research context, but assumes that this is insufficient in developing a fixed research design due to complex, multiple and unpredictable nature of what is perceived as reality. The researcher in adhering to the principles of interpretivism remained open by allowing informants to develop new knowledge throughout the data generation process (Hudson and Ozanne 1988).

In contrast, positivism is based on the ontology of realism that assumes the existence of an apprehensible reality driven by natural mechanisms (Truong 2014; Guba & Lincoln 1994). In positivist research, the researcher is concerned with gaining knowledge by objective scientific methods of enquiry (ibid). The positivist researcher believes he/she is independent what is being investigated, thus does not use subjective interventions, but employs objective approaches to measure the social world (Creswell 2009). According to Riley and Love (2000) as cited in (Truong 2014), positivist research cannot fully address questions of understanding and meaning, nor does it permit the researcher to produce interpretive and reflective accounts behaviour and events in their natural settings. Hence, this study employed interpretivist paradigm as it allowed the researcher to address questions of understanding and meaning as well as permitting the researcher to produce interpretive and reflective accounts

4.3 Methodological Approach

Quantitative and qualitative methods in research are now widely seen as different but equally valid methods of enquiry (White 2002). Creswell (2013) argues that the distinction between qualitative research and quantitative research methodology is

framed in terms of using closed-ended questions (quantitative hypotheses) rather than open-ended questions (qualitative interview questions). According to Creswell, a more complete way to view the gradations of differences between the two concepts is in the basic philosophical assumptions researchers bring to bear on the study, the specific methods employed in conducting these strategies (e.g., collecting data quantitatively on instruments versus collecting qualitative data through observing a setting).

In the words of Nenty (2009), quantitative methodology is an inferential endeavour, which seeks to uncover universal truths and principles in the form of relationship among variables or phenomena as they occur. Quantitative methods are frequently aim to produce poverty and livelihood data that can be aggregated and analysed to describe and predict relationships often over quite large populations, the aim being to achieve breadth in coverage and analysis (Carpenter and McGillivray 2012). This may be very important when seeking to identify a phenomenon like the income poverty line in a developing country, and to predict what impact a policy might have on ‘poor’ people across a wide region (ibid).

Qualitative research is used in three situations: where a detailed understanding of a complex issue is required; when we want to empower individuals to share their stories and participate in the research (participatory research); or when it is important to understand the context and settings in which a problem or an issue is experienced (Carpenter and McGillivray 2012; Creswell 2007). As argued by Schurink (2003), qualitative research methodology is grounded in a philosophical position, which is generally interpretivist in the sense that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood or experienced. Schurink further contend that qualitative

research approach aims to produce rounded understandings on the basis of rich, contextual, and detailed data. There is often more emphasis on 'holistic' forms of analysis, description and explanation in this sense, than on charting surface patterns, trends and correlations (Schurink 2003: 5). In a qualitative research, a variety of empirical tools such as case studies, personal experiences, interviews, observational and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals 'lives are the key instruments often used to provide a great amount of 'rich' data from relatively few sources (Veal 2006).

In line with the exploratory and open-ended nature of the constructed research questions, a qualitative methodological approach was chosen. Creswell (2009) argues that qualitative investigation methods allow for much more detailed investigation of issues - answering questions of meaning, who is affected by the issue and why, what factors are involved, do personalities react or respond differently to each other. This falls in line with the research agenda, which aim at exploring the contributions of philanthropy towards improving the conditions of smallholder farmers, smallholder farmers' understanding of philanthropy, and the relationship that exists between philanthropic organisations and smallholder farmers.

Moreover, qualitative approach was preferred ahead of other approaches because qualitative data analysis allowed the researcher to carry on the analysis with data collection concurrently leading to clear understanding of emerging questions whilst data was being generated (Curry et al. 2009). Creswell (2009) confirms this when he postulated that qualitative investigation methods allow for much more detailed investigation of issues - answering questions of meaning, who is affected by the

issue why, what factors are involved, do personalities react or respond differently to each other.

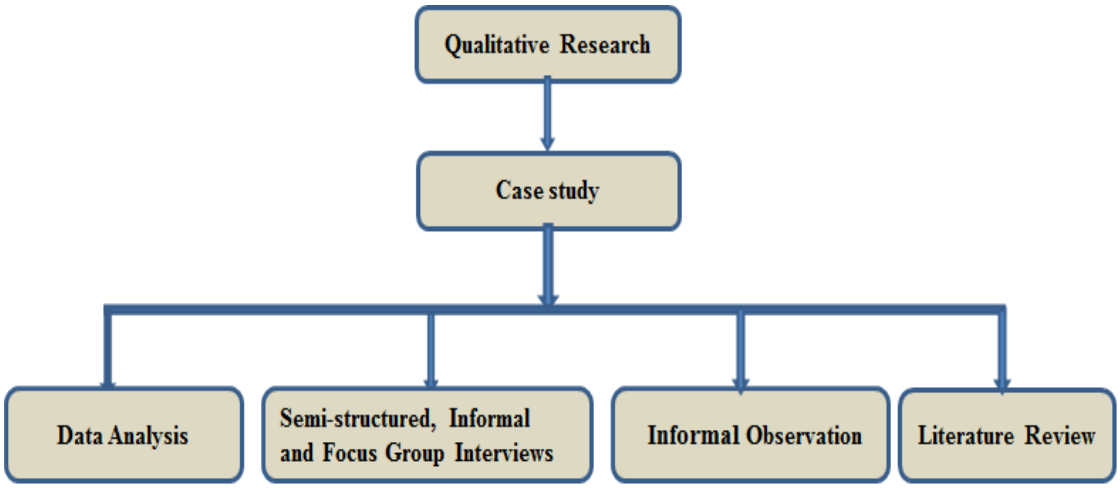
This research is guided by the argument by other researchers (Creswell 2009; Dunn 2005) that in livelihood studies, people should be placed at the centre of a web of inter-related influences that affect how people create a livelihood for themselves and their households. Livelihood framework focuses on the resources and livelihood assets to which individuals and households have access and used, an interview approach suits this type of study in the sense that the interviewer can encourage the respondent to talk, ask supplementary questions or ask respondents to further explain their answers (Carpenter 2011; Veal 2006).

However, qualitative research is often criticised for been unscientific and a mere assembly of anecdote and personal impressions, strongly subject to researcher bias and that the research is so personal to the researcher that there is no guarantee that a different researcher would not come to radically different conclusions (ibid). Again, it is said that qualitative research such as this lacks generalizability, tends to generate large amounts of detailed information about a small number of settings. To be able to minimise unseen personal biases in this research, the researcher has included many variables in the instrument design as discussed in the preceding discussions (Cannon et al. 1988).

4.4 Research Strategy and Methodologies for the Study

This section discusses the design and strategy of the study, stages and approaches of data gathering and the research instruments and datasets. The figure below summaries detail methodological steps employed in this research.

Figure 4.1: Diagrammatic Representation of Research Methods



Source: Author

4.4.1 Research Design and Strategy

This research is engaged in efforts to detail a 'thick' understanding of philanthropy as perceived by smallholder farmers and their perspectives on the role of philanthropy in their livelihoods. In line with the qualitative approach adopted in this study, the research strategy is conducted within a case study design. According to Yin (2011), case study in an academic enquiry seeks to investigate a phenomenon within its real-life framework when the boundaries and limitations between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which many sources of data are used. Just like other approaches discussed in this chapter, case study research comes with

enormous benefits. As a result, this study adopts a case study approach for number reasons. To begin with, case study enquiry has significant advantage of producing first-hand information in its natural setting as well as allowing research methods to be employed that encourage familiarity and close contact with the informants (Bakare 2014). Moreover, as argue by Ragin (1992), the use of case studies pave way for researchers to employ varieties of interconnected methods, which focus on direct and verifiable social experiences of social actors. Furthermore, case study design in addition to the above has a unique strength of creating long-term contacts and personal experiences in the field, which could lead to obtaining information that covers a huge subject area (Bromley 1986).

Accordingly, a case study design has been chosen for this study as opposed to other designs for both theoretical and practical reasons (ibid). On the theoretical reason, issues of inequality and livelihoods are on-going occurrences; it would be extremely difficult to adequately address these issues by simply using other designs that exclude the contextual information on inequality and livelihoods and historical background. As a result of this, both current and historical data will be required to contextualize the study (Bakare 2014). On the aspect of the practical reason, time and financial constraints conveniently and purposefully place case study design approach over other designs where unmanageable samples of the population are required to fulfil statistical reliability and validity criteria (ibid).

Within the case study design as employed in this study, the research also uses ethnographic (see section 4.6) methods of data generation such as semi-structured interviews, focused group discussions, informal observation, and secondary sources to generate adequate and reliable data. The use of all these qualitative methods of

data collection is imperative in a livelihood study such as this in order to provide for triangulation so as to improve on data quality and reliability (Robson 2002). What this mean is that, where the use of interviews in data collection is insufficient, other data collection methods such as informal observation, and secondary sources will invariably augment the gaps (Bakare 2014).

In other to give a through meaning to the case study design, the study adopts actor-oriented approach to throw more light on the nature of agency and structure in shaping outcomes differently for all the actors under the scope of this study. The key idea behind the actor-oriented approach is because of its natural nature in the sense it originates from the understanding that, whatever the structural circumstances may be, the approach will give rise to the development of different social forms Long and Van Der Ploeg 1994). It can therefore be accepted that there will be a vast difference in the ways in which actors will handle situations and conditions that threaten their livelihoods (ibid). It is often argued that the actor-oriented approach (see section 4.4.2) is the most fruitful way of analysing rural development in the Northern Region of Ghana. It is productive to approach social actors, not simply as disembodied social categories (based on class or some other classificatory criteria) or passive recipients of intervention, but as active participants who process information and strategies in their dealings with various philanthropic actors as well as with outside institutions and personnel (Long and Van Der Ploeg 1994; Nielsen 2000).

4.4.2 An Actor Oriented Approach

As mentioned above, the ‘actor oriented’ approach is concerned mainly with mapping relationships and flows of information to provide a basis for reflection and

action. The main task for analysis in using this approach is to identify and characterise differing actor strategies and rationales, the conditions under which they arise, how they interlock, their viability or effectiveness for solving specific problems, and their wider social ramifications (Long 2015). This study draws extensively on this approach because of the emphasis it places on human agency within the context of the repetitive relationship between agency and structure, with the key attribute that it considers the social actor as a knowing, active subject, who is aware of his/her own situation and possesses knowledge about and an interpretation of the surrounding society and his or her own and others' places and possibilities in it (Giddens 1984; Osei-Kufuor 2012). It is always assumed that social actors are knowledgeable and capable in their own right. The actor-oriented approach accepts the heterogeneous nature of the community and the role of social relations in facilitating the outcomes of human strategic action. It prioritises those ideas that enable people to pursue their strategies to achieve their intended objectives (ibid).

In addressing the relationship between philanthropic actors and smallholder farmers, particularly, how philanthropic actors deal with smallholder, the actor oriented approach provides explanations about the conditions under which various actors are self-organized and consolidated around a particular problem, the strategies they use, the rationale for their actions, and the viability or effectiveness of these for solving specific social problems and their social outcomes (Long and Long 1992). In terms of the epistemological viewpoint, this approach embraces the existence of the coexistence of different understandings and meanings as well as interpretations of experience (Long and Cruz 2003). Indeed, the actor oriented approach calls for a methodology that applies ethnographic methods to the understanding of the reality of

interventions, especially, the processes by which images, identities and social practices are negotiated, contested, and sometimes rejected by the various social actors involved (Ibid). However, one of the constraints with this methodology as evidenced in this research is its limited applicability for understanding issues to do with the near-sightedness of the community to higher-level institutions (ibid). One more difficulty with this approach during the early stages of the research was the difficulty in identifying the key government and local organisation actors whose strategies and actions shaped smallholder farmers and their interaction with philanthropic actors.

Nonetheless, my argument is that the actor oriented approach ensures that different actors have different powers - the capacity to do something or prevent something from being done - and different means; therefore, the particular conditions and environment in which they operate have to be considered when identifying the actor‘s process and relationships of power in response to any intervention (Chekole 2006). Thus, applying the concepts of the actor oriented approach to a wide-range of actors that are involved in philanthropy and livelihood improvements allow the researcher to identify and understand the role of each actor and the coping strategies adopted by the actors, specifically the smallholder farmers, with respect to different problematic situations that results from AGRA’s interventions (Chekole 2006; Osei-Kufuor 2012). The next section discusses the sampling approaches of the study.

4.5 Sampling Strategy

Sampling in research has to do with choosing a few from a larger group to become the basis for estimating, assessing or envisaging the occurrence of an unknown piece of data, is very crucial. The likes of Fossey et al. (2002) and Merriam (2009) have pontificated that sampling in a research of a case study design like philanthropy and livelihoods needs of smallholder farmers is better guided by purposive and snowball sampling approaches because of the suitability of the two approaches. The two sampling approaches employed in the study are discussed below.

4.5.1 Purposive Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling, which belongs to the category of non-probability sampling techniques, allows sampling population to be selected on the basis of their knowledge, relationships and expertise regarding a research subject (Freedman et al. 2007). In this study, research participants from AGRA (including AGRA sponsored farming group from Cheshe), the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the local organisations in partnership with AGRA were purposively selected due to the fact that the sampled population had deep insight with regards to the research focus by virtue of the offices they occupy in one way or the other, relevant work experiences in their various capacities in field of the new philanthropy and smallholder farmers' livelihoods as well as having adequate working partnerships towards the welfare of smallholder farmers. The accounts of these individuals led to the generation of data that suits the objectives of the study (Short et al. 2002). The usefulness of the sampled interviewees to the study is not only limited to their direct participation through the granting of interviews but some of them went beyond that and provided the researcher with official publications, pamphlets, diaries and

documents to back the points raised during the interviews (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Nonetheless, the use of purposive sampling is not without some challenges. Among the series of challenges faced include; high cost of traveling to meet with AGRA officials and local partners based in Accra and Tamale respectively, often times the research had to travel by flight between the two cities for interviews to be conducted at the precincts of their offices. Apart from the huge financial cost, substantial amount of time was also spent during the process, which affected the time schedule of the fieldwork.

4.5.2 Snowball Sampling Technique

Snowball sampling was the other sampling technique used along with the purposive sampling technique discussed above. Snowball sampling technique has been used by social scientists in philanthropic studies, for instance Aidoo's (2012) ethnographic of case study of the impact of philanthropy in rural development in Ghana used snowballing to overcome the trouble of identifying suitable interviewees. Snowballing, as a sampling technique is undertaken when a qualified participant shares an invitation with other subjects similar to them who fulfil the qualifications defined for the targeted sampling population (Berg 2006). According to Creswell (2009), snowball sampling is a method for discovering study subjects as one subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on.

The use of this technique benefits the study in a number of ways. In the first place, snowballing technique has a key advantage in helping to identify a sample of smallholder farmers in Cheshe to participate in this study. For instance, during the

fieldwork, after the researcher had interviewed Tahir Mutawkil of Dungu, it began a chain or snowball effect. Tahir Mutawkil – who accused AGRA and local government authorities for being the main cause of smallholder farmers' problems as discussed in section 7.4.4, recommended the researcher to five other colleagues with similar views. Three of them also intend recommended researcher to interview several other farmers. Furthermore, snowball sampling technique assisted greatly in breaking the jinx of access to contacts of the social actors through which I was able to reach out to other social actors relevant to this research (Bakare 2014). The use of snowballing approach provides clearer picture of the network relationship, which exist between various participants being linked to the study (ibid).

In contrast with quantitative research methodology, the use of sampling in this study is not to make generalizations about the entire population but to reflect on how the processes of relationships between various actors provide deeper knowledge of philanthropy and livelihoods needs of smallholder farmers (ibid; Limb 2004). Therefore, the ethnographic method of data generation as employed this study also promoted deeper understating of the subject area.

In the midst of the numerous advantages of snowballing, there is however some drawbacks. For instance, one fundamental inherent bias in snowballing is that it tends to generate a sample that is unbalanced in selected demographic characteristics (Browne 2005). This problem was encountered in this study, as mentioned above, the researcher upon realizing that Tahir Mutawkil's snowball effect was creating selection bias (recommending the researcher to his allies), was addressed through the generation of a large sample devoid of replying on his friends

for the purposes of data reliability. The next section discusses the data generation through ethnography.

4.6 Data Generation through Ethnography

In the words of Wacquant, ethnography in social research is based on the close-up, on-the-ground observation of people and institutions in real time and space, in which the investigator embeds herself near (or within) the phenomenon so as to detect how and why agents on the scene act, think and feel the way they do (Wacquant 2003). In line with these ideas and the notion that social life is always throwing up new data, this study adopted an ethnographic approach to data collection to explore the contributions of the new philanthropy toward improving the conditions of smallholder farmers in Ghana, to investigate smallholder farmers' understanding of the new philanthropy as well as the relationship between the new philanthropy and smallholder farmers (Berg 2004). Ethnographic researchers often look for patterns, describe local relationships (formal and informal), understandings and meanings (tacit and explicit), and try to make sense of a place and a case in relation to the entire social setting and all social relationships (Parthasarathy 2008). Ethnographic method is particularly useful in unearthing *actor perspectives* for the reason that it exposes us to people's changing moral-jural reasoning while dealing with situations in real life (Khare 1998). Although a full-fledged ethnography typically demands long-term engagement in the field, ethnographic case studies can be conducted over shorter spans of time to explore narrower fields of interest to help generate hypotheses (ibid).

The use of an actor oriented approach in this study means that the meaning of concepts, values and interpretations are deemed as culturally constructed (Long and Cruz 2003). Another important element of ethnographic research, which benefits this study enormously, is triangulation. Data triangulation uses different sources of data to examine a phenomenon in several different settings and different points in time or space (ibid). In order to effectively use multiple qualitative data approaches in this study, triangulation was employed to observe as many parts of the social setting, and as many persons and roles as possible. This approach enabled the researcher in this study to operate within and across research strategies, corroborating different data sources with each other and also responding to all the research questions for the study (Reeves et al. 2008).

Owing to the complex nature of social life in the research villages, the adoption of an ethnographic approach enables the researcher to immerse myself in the setting, thereby generating a rich understanding of the nature of smallholder farming and the effects of the new philanthropy. Due to the fact ethnographic approach to data generation mostly aims to generate holistic social accounts, in using this approach, I sought to explore the impact of the new philanthropy on the livelihood improvement, and the theoretical understanding of the role of the new philanthropy in the international development arena was scrutinized.

4.6.1 Informal Observation

This study adopted an informal observation technique because the ontological perspective of this study sees —interaction, action and the behaviour of social actors as central (Mason 2002). According to Creswell (1998) the ethnographic research

process involves the use of prolonged observation and allows the generation of multidimensional data and information on social interaction in specific contexts as it occurs rather than relying on secondary sources and their ability to express and reconstruct a version of the interaction or setting. The appropriate techniques for observing largely depend on the kind of question being addressed, as well as the phenomena under observation, and its context (Kareithi 2004). Also, it is important to consider the purpose of the study, such as deepening understanding, evaluating and measuring, or comparing, in order to determine which techniques are appropriate (ibid).

Informal observation and informal discussions with villagers provided the researcher with a clear understanding of their current livelihood needs, cultural norms, and economic factors which underpin how people socialise, interrelate with, and participate in philanthropic initiatives. Furthermore, through informal observation, adequate data were gathered through handwritten notes, tape recordings and photographs. Some aspects of the observed data included living conditions, the nature and number of assets owned by poor people, infrastructure, household sizes, sources of income, and participation. This shaped the quality and outcome of the observations, as my encounter with the actors and the research areas turned the observation into natural interaction, which simplified documentation of events as they occur (Stanley and McLaren 2007). Every new thing that was observed was written down in a notebook. Furthermore, observing the poor smallholder farmers, their context and their surroundings assisted the researcher in building a clearer picture of meanings and understanding of livelihood needs and the mechanisms and strategies of the poor for obtaining their livelihoods. Informal observation is useful in helping the

researcher to develop his knowledge about how philanthropic interventions can be used to improve livelihoods (Stanley and McLaren 2007).

From informal observation, it was discovered that female farmers were always separated from their male counterparts during meetings. In one of our focus group discussion, I sought to find out the rationale behind this during a focus group discussion and I got the following response from Dokurugu Ramatu, a 65-year-old widow from Cheshe:

> *Men are the decision makers. What do you expect us women to do when we are summoned before our husbands? I believe my colleague women here do not feel comfortable, so sitting in the midst of men to talk about issues of farming when indeed that aspect is the preserve of men. Even if we sit with them, they won't allow our views to be heard. It's also an act of respect to accord them that leverage to take decisions on what they as men, mostly do* (Dokurugu Ramatu in focus group discussion, Cheshe, 21/06/014).

Data, which emerged from informal observation, was a clear pointer to the similarities in terms of the socioeconomic features of farmers from both villages, even though Cheshe farmers belong to the Kpaman *Farmers Association*, an association that receives AGRA's interventions. My observation also found lot of farmers who were eager to participate in the AGRA group in the farmers' meeting, but were turned away due to not been members of the group. These were farmers who may have benefited from the discussion had they been allowed to sit through.

4.6.2 Interviews (Semi-Structured and Focused Group Discussions)

Interviews are useful in providing an understanding of research problems outlined in the study, by drawing on the information provided by informants, not necessarily the whole population (Denscombe 2014). Arksey and Knight (1999) have analysed the different types of interviews with respect to the ease by which they can be conducted, the time they require, sampling, validity, reliability and ease of analysis. The strength of the data in this thesis lies in the fact that it draws on semi-structured and focused group discussions for eliciting information from the various actors in the research sites (May 2001). Mahmood et al. (2014) for instance, employed semi structured interviews as well as in-depth interviews to establish that access to finance is important for female entrepreneurs and helps them realise their potential as entrepreneurs. Mahmood and his colleagues also identified optimal poverty reduction as a result of women access to microfinance. Table 4.1 provides a summary of key respondents interviewed.

Table 4.1: Summary of Respondents

Respondents	Techniques			Relevant Primary Notes
	Informal interviews	Focus group discussions	Semi-structured interviews	
AGRA Officers			**10**	Designing, executing and monitoring policies
Local NGO Partners	**2**		**7**	Executing and monitoring policies
Government Officials			**3**	Designing, executing and monitoring policies
Smallholder Farmers	Cheshe **4**	Cheshe **10**	Cheshe **35**	Understanding philanthropy, participation and livelihoods
	Dungu **4**	Dungu **10**	Dungu **35**	
Total Respondents = 120				

Source: Interview Data

The purpose of using informal interviews, focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews in the research is to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on philanthropy and livelihoods (Gill et al. 2008). Each of these methods has its own merits to the study. The use of informal interviews provides the foundation for developing and conducting more semi-structured interviews accordingly (Cohen and Crabtree 2006). With regards to the informal interviews, as most of the key informants were illiterate and innumerate, the use of informal interviews foster 'low pressure' interactions and allow respondents to speak more freely and openly (ibid). This approach was also found to be useful in building rapport with respondents and in gaining their trust as well as their understanding of philanthropy and livelihoods. On the other hand, semi-structured interviews in most cases are often preceded by observation, informal and unstructured interviewing in order to allow the researchers to develop a keen understanding of the topic of interest necessary for developing relevant and meaningful semi-structured questions (Gill et al. 2008; Cohen and Crabtree 2006). Semi-structured interviews also allow informants the freedom to express their views in their own terms leading to the generation of reliable, comparable qualitative data.

The semi-structured interview was chosen for the purposes of reflexivity, naturalism, openness, and flexibility, which other methods such as questionnaires are not able to provide (ibid). Interviewees who participated in the study included: smallholder farmers, AGRA officials, philanthropic partners, and government representatives. The non-standardised nature of the semi-structured interview format allowed informants to define their own situations and give accounts of their own lived experiences.

Moreover, semi-structured interviewing allowed the researcher to gather key information from all participants while also allowing ‘each interview to flow in a unique direction’ in response to the interviewee’s experiences and interests (Schutt 2011: 311). In addition to flexibility during an interview, semi structured interviews gave people a chance to express themselves in their own words, which enhanced richness of the data (Dvale 1996). This way, important themes and ideas emerged that the researcher may not have otherwise discovered by using other methods, such as surveys and questionnaires.

However, the researcher was mindful of subjective areas that could arise, especially being educated and youthful while interviewing mostly older household heads, who were poorer and illiterate or semi-literate (Krathwohl 1998; Kareithi 2004). The researcher therefore sought to 'blend in' through the adoption of cultural norms of the area in order to build good rapport with interviewees. For instance, you do not greet an elderly person in a standing position; the accepted convention is to squat with your left hand on the ground whilst exchanging pleasantries or to simply bow before such individuals. The use of local language is one of the many strategies adopted; it enhanced and built strong relations between the researcher and informants. This is in line with Spradley’s (1979) argument that the establishment of rapport in stages help both interviewer and interviewee to explore how the interview will proceed, creating cooperation, trust and participation.

Focus group discussions (FGDs) according to Thomas et al. (1995) are a method of data generation in which participants are selected because they are a purposive, although not necessarily representative, a sampling of a specific population; this group being ‘focused’ on a given topic. FGDs are used to engage participants in a

focused discussion of an issue and to produce qualitative data that provides insight into the attitudes, perceptions and opinions of actors (Bakare 2014). This method offers information about group processes, spontaneous feelings, reasons and explanations for attitudes and behaviour of the actors interviewed (ibid).

Focus groups share many common features with less structured interviews, but there is more to them than merely collecting similar data from many participants at once (Gill et al. 2008). Focus group discussions were used to generate information on collective views of smallholder famers, and the meanings that lie behind those views, which other methods could not have provided. Through focus group discussions, rich data on the understanding of participants' experiences and beliefs was generated (Morgan1998).

The use of focused group discussions provided an avenue for the men and women, both adults and youths, to ventilate their views on several dimensions of philanthropic interventions and smallholder farming. During the fieldwork, two focused group interviews were held for each village. The focused group interview from Cheshe comprised an equal number of men and women drawn from the Cheshe Kpaman Kawuni Song Farmers Based Association, but were separated for the purpose of obtaining reliable data from interviewees when it was realised that the women in both groups were reluctant in expressing their views. As a result of the separation, women felt more independent and comfortable expressing their views on several dimensions of their livelihoods when separated from the men (ibid). Due to this experience, the same approach was replicated in Dungu. The reason for adopting this option was to determine the level of independence, exclusion and marginalisation of women by men in the scheme of governance at the local level.

The FGDs started on a very peaceful note until one of the male participants, who seemed to be tipsy, started abusing everybody verbally. He claimed he had witnessed several NGO representatives who have been to Dungu on several occasions for data generation, but nothing positive has come out of these numerous visits. This degenerated into verbal exchanges involving all the group members. About one and half hours later, it was resolved and the whole interaction came to a successful end after an intervention of the ‘zaayurinaa’ (spokesperson to the chief of Dungu).

In Cheshe, I conducted focus group discussions with ten participants, which comprised an equal number of equal men and women. The rationale for adopting this option was to determine the level of support received and the exclusion of women by AGRA and partner organisations in philanthropic initiatives.

However, the focused group discussion had its own limitations, as certain members within the various group tried to control the interactions that took place, denying others the opportunity to express their views. This situation was as a result of power relations; nevertheless, I tried to manage the discussions that took place by repeatedly calling on people who were often quiet to contribute to the discussions and have their views heard.

In the nutshell, qualitative methods, such as semi-structured interviews, informal interviews and focus group discussions have provided a 'deeper' understanding of the new philanthropy and smallholder farmers’ livelihoods than would be obtained from purely quantitative methods, such as surveys, questionnaires and secondary sources.

4.7 Secondary Data Sources

The use of secondary data puts the researcher in a proper position to know other approaches used by previous researchers. Also, secondary data has a high accessibility rate through libraries and more recently, the Internet. Furthermore, the costs for collecting secondary data are low (Descombe 1998; Kareithi 2004). According to Descombe, secondary information can sometimes be obtained without much delay and without an authorisation procedure.

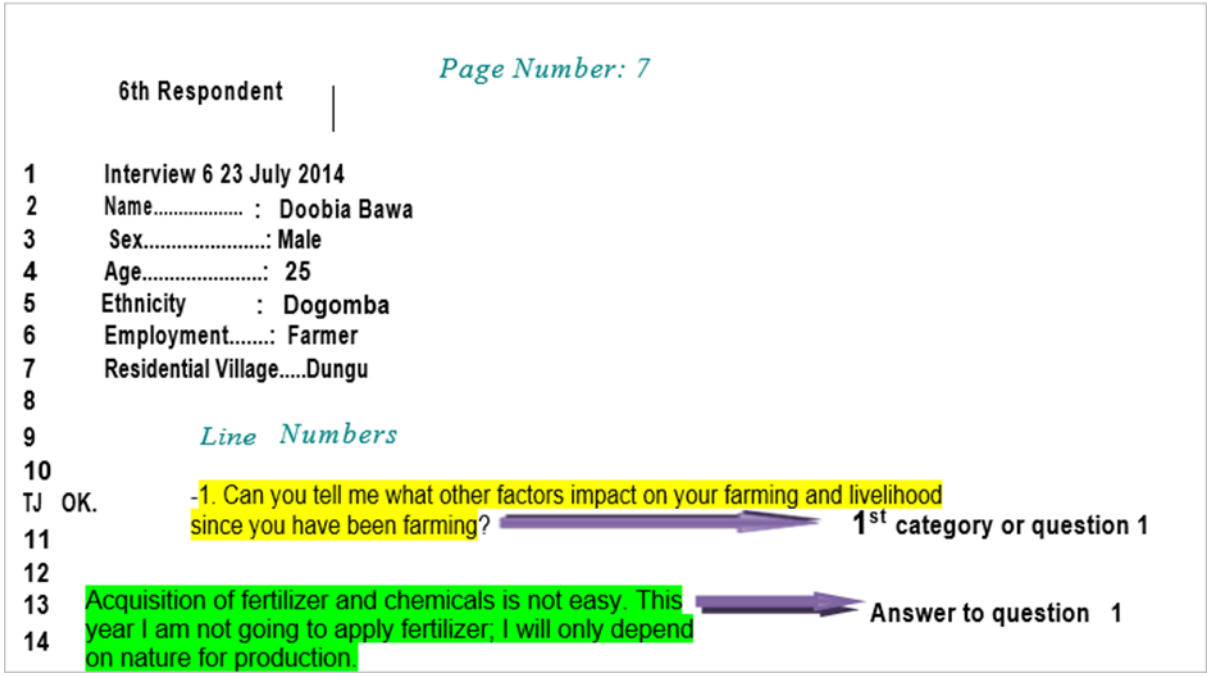
Secondary data in the study has been used for the following. Firstly, to complement the interviews and observations in terms of the diversity of data generated. Secondly, for background data, it was the only logical way of collecting information; for instance, AGRA reports and publications, MoFA publications as well as government development plans and feasibility studies. The last reason being that secondary data was used for triangulation purposes to verify the reliability of data collected through the interview and observation methods and ensuring completeness of the data (Kareithi 2004).

4.8 Data Recording and Analysis

Data analysis involves breaking data down into bits, and then 'beating' the bits together; it is a process of resolving data into its basic components, to reveal its characteristic elements and structure (Dey 1993). Yin (1994) argues that, the analysis of a case study is one of the least developed aspects of the case study methodological approach. Though the data was coded without assisted computer software (Nvivo), it was thematically analysed by following the constant comparative analysis approach of the grounded theory procedures. According to Glaser (1965), it

is a process of analysis through an inductive process, as the researcher begins to examine data critically and draw new meaning from the data rather than a deductive approach, which defines at the outset what will be found. Through this approach, concepts, themes and theories were driven from data systematically and analysed throughout the research process. The data gathering and analysis stand in close relationship to one another in this study (Corbin and Strauss 2007). In carrying out the analysis, concepts and themes were created from the raw data; these themes and concepts were further put into categories then within these categories subcategories were identified. In the process of axial coding similar themes were also put into identifiable groups to form categories by a way of constant comparative analysis (see figure 4.2 below).

Figure 4. 2: Data Coding and Categorisation



Source: Author

As stated in section 4.6, the data generation approaches utilized in this research took the form primarily of semi-structured and informal interviews as well as focused group discussions and direct observation during site visits to Cheshe and Dungu. The participants were mainly rural smallholder farmers in both villages in the northern region of Ghana near Tamale[2]: *Cheshe and Dungu.* These two villages were not randomly selected as pointed out already. In Dungu, the majority of the data relevant to the new philanthropy and livelihoods were gathered from conducting all of the above qualitative methods of data generation with smallholder farmers including the community chief. Additionally, the researcher made several visits and had direct observations of livelihood activities in the village (farming, shear butter making, weaving of craft and sale of farm produce). The researcher then collected some data (though scanty) from the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly to augment the findings.

Similarly, in Cheshe village, the same methodological approach was applied. Even though Cheshe is the village that had AGRA's sponsored smallholder farming group, it was very difficult getting access to the farmers due to the fact that the researcher had to be led by a staff of Agricultural Research Institute (SARI). SARI happens to be one of the implementing partners of the AVCMP (see section 3.5.3.2). After being led to Cheshe to interview the famers on two different occasions by Mr Edem Holodo, who works for SARI as a technical officer, the researcher established a very good rapport with the leader of the group and some of the farmers In Cheshe, as a result, several independent visits were made by the researcher for data generation

[2] Tamale is the capital city of the Northern region of Ghana mostly inhabited by the Mole-Dagomba linguistic group. The city is home to about 350,000 people

purposes. Generally, participants were enthusiastic and had prepared for the interviews, thus enabling the collection of information.

Throughout the fieldwork in both villages, the data generated were recorded in field notes, voice recording, video and photographic images. In the case of interviews conducted, I employed a considerable number of field notes and in some cases I had to draw on voice recordings. For most of the information gathered through informal observation either with smallholder farmers, AGRA officials or local organization representatives, I used a combination of video, photographic images and field notes to document my interaction with these various social actors. In cases where the information observed was not explanatory enough, I took photographic images (Bakare 2014). To address the inadequacies of the information obtained from video and images, I took field notes of events as they are captured in the research locations. For example, during the quarterly stakeholder and smallholder farmers' engagement meeting held in Tamale, I was privileged to informally observe their deliberations upon receiving an invitation from the project manager of the AVCMP. With their consent, I recorded the whole discussion. This gave me first-hand information as regard the objectives and goals of the AVCMP from the relevant social actors.

This study employed the inductive approach to data analysis. Inductive data analysis is based on the data itself after it is processed (Rumbewas 2005). In the view of Lincoln and Guba (1985), inductive data analysis is a process for making sense of field data which is derived from interviews, observation, documents, unobtrusive measures, nonverbal cues, or any other qualitative or quantitative information pools. In line with the inductive data analysis approach, the data collection was integrated

with data analysis, allowing me to check out the patterns and the research questions as they emerged, and redefine data collection strategies as necessary (Miles and Huberman 1994). Specifically, key words, themes and relationships were identified in order to place the data into categories.

The initial plan for analyzing the data generated was to use a computer assisted program known as NVivo. However, when the process of data generation began, I observed that within a short period of time, data emerging from the accounts of the respondents were bulky and complex due to the fact that the use of semi-structured in the interview guide gave the respondents the leeway to express themselves on issues and topics which they felt were relevant to the discussion. The large volume of data generated required a high level of research skill for data preparation, data reduction and data analysis to enable me to achieve the research objectives of the study (Bakare 2014). In order to deal with the challenges from the mass data generated, I listened to the conversation, which emanated from the field and brought other data together (field notes, photographs and video sources, documents) to have an understanding of how and what types of data were collected. Through this, I identified the strengths of my data and wasted no time in collecting additional data, which was not covered in my research questions. This approach has set the direction for my data analysis (Miles and Huberman 1994; Osei-Kufuor 2012; Bakare 2014).

As mentioned before, the intention was to use computer software, but this was abandoned for a manual and a subtler procedure that brought out the layers of meanings from the emerging data (ibid). However, in the process of collecting the data, a matrix was developed in which the various key words and themes coming out

of the data were placed into categories, resulting in a spreadsheet that brought order to the messy, complex and bulky data. This process was done every day in the evenings after collecting data in order to draw out the relationships, meanings and ideas from the data (Osei-Kufuor 2012). The process of ongoing data analysis during the fieldwork revealed the gaps in some of the responses and helped significantly in preparing for follow-up interviews (ibid).

4.9 Fieldwork Experience and Reflections

According to Malterud (2001), a researcher's background and position will affect what they choose to investigate, the findings considered most appropriate, and the framing and communication of conclusions. With this in mind, the researcher at all material times tried not to allow personal interest and views influenced the data collection, the process was done as professionally as possible.

The data generation period during the fieldwork took about four months to complete. This was between the third weeks of May 2014 through to the end of September 2014. Five different sets of respondents, as mentioned already, were interviewed: smallholder farmers, AGRA officials, philanthropic partners; and government representatives. The smallholder farmers were mostly illiterate and their livelihood activities were mostly farming, so they were available during the day (see Figure 4.2) when working on their farms or during evenings when they returned home. On the village market days, most of the people do not go to farms; since Islam dominates the area, most of them do not also engage in livelihood activities during Fridays as well. I capitalized on this, and carried out focus group interviews on these specific days, which yielded positive turnouts. The other interviews were conducted during

the normal days when farmers were busily working on their farms or had returned from their farms in the evening.

Figure 4.3: A Farmer on his Backyard Farm

Source: Author

The context of the insider–outsider divide shaped my interaction in the data collection process in both Dungu and Cheshe villages. I related very well with the villagers throughout the entire fieldwork. The fact that I could speak the local language made them accept me as an insider. Thus, communication with them was without any hindrance. My fieldwork period coincided with a horrific accident that had occurred on a Tamale Bolgatanga road near Dungu, in which three children from the village were killed. I seized the opportunity to attend the burial and funeral services of these young souls. As a result of my prior presence there, a lot of the villagers became familiar with me, and so when I went back to them to inform them about my

mission in their village, it was very easy for them to cooperate with me because I was considered an insider.

During my first and second visits to Cheshe village, where an AGRA group of farmers is based, I was in the company of Edem Holodo, who works for SARI as a technical officer. Edem introduced me to the farmers as one of his colleagues and prevailed upon them to give me the necessary attention and cooperation. As a result, I had no problem getting information from the farmers. I returned to the village on numerous occasions on my own and with the support offered me by Mr Edem; I was able to interview thirty-five out of the forty-five names given to me. I was able to get comprehensive information regarding the nature of farming; the types of inputs being linked to by AGRA and how they feel about the impact of AGRA on their livelihoods.

Generally, the smallholder farmers showed a great deal of desires to be interviewed on issues that concerns their livelihoods. This was manifested in the FGDs I conducted which generated overwhelming results, as a number of farmers in both villages expressed interest in making their voices heard. Some even went an extra mile and requested that I photograph them so that they could be seen in my thesis. However, during the course of the first focus group discussions in Cheshe which comprised an equal number of men and women drawn from the Cheshe Kpaman Kawuni Song Farmers Based Association, but had to be separated for the purpose of obtaining reliable data from interviewees when it was realised that the women in both groups were reluctant in expressing their views. As a result of the separation, women felt more independent and comfortable expressing their views on several dimensions of their livelihoods when separated from the men (ibid). Due to this experience, the same approach was replicated in Dungu. The reason for adopting

this option was to determine the level of independence, exclusion and marginalisation of women by men in the scheme of at the local level.

Another important issue that cropped up and was adequately managed during focus group discussions was when one of the male participants, who seemed to be tipsy, started abusing everybody verbally. He claimed he had witnessed several NGO representatives who have been to Dungu on several occasions for data generation, but nothing positive has come out of these numerous visits. This degenerated into verbal exchanges involving all the group members. About one and half hours later, it was resolved and the whole interaction came to a successful end after an intervention of the 'zaayurinaa' (spokesperson to the chief of Dungu).

I had two days set aside purposely for interviewing AGRA officers in Accra. The country director of AGRA made this possible, and the process went on well without any hitches. I met the ten local organisations working in partnership with AGRA separately in their offices at their own appointed times. In a nutshell, the fieldwork exercise with all social actors went smoothly as planned.

4.10 Ethical Issues and Validity

An ethical situation arises if it involves rules of behaviour or conformity to a code or set of principles. Ethical issues provide researchers with the tools required to determine whether or not a certain action should be carried out and the extent to which a past action was justified (Kimmel 2009). In the light of this, I sought the informed consent of all interviewees and the gatekeepers for the settings respectively before the commencement of any research activity. I explained to the smallholder farmers that I was a student who had to sample their views as part of my

PhD programme requirements. For other social actors, I simply circulated a carefully worded email (see Appendix C) detailing the information they need to know about my research, including ethical clearance from the University of Bradford. All interviewees were duly informed that they were at liberty to withdraw their participation at any time.

Apart from some three AGRA officials and two local NGO representatives who sought anonymity and confidentiality, which was agreed upon, all other respondents willingly consented to their names and views being made public. The three AGRA officials for example divulged key sensitive information to me and had asked not to be mentioned as the persons involved. According to one of them, the essence of the existence of AGRA is to remain relevant and compete with others compete with other's voices on issues of poverty. He adds that the only way to do this is to accumulate enough resources to the disadvantage of the poor in society. When I sought his consent to record our conversation as in the case of all other interviewees, he declined to be recorded and prevailed upon me to write down what he was saying, which I did. There was not an instant where any interviewee felt uneasy about being recorded, apart from the example given above.

In addition to the above, I ensured that sign up agreement forms were made available and dated, with each interviewee given a copy in English; for those who could not read English, the researcher interpreted their content into the local Dagbanli dialect (see Appendix F). Verbal consent was also sought throughout the process of interviewing and a tape recording made of vital information.

The issue of ensuring validity outcomes in qualitative research brings up the issue of reliability. To be able to ensure validity, the researcher conducted an intensive long-term [field] involvement—to produce a complete and in-depth understanding of field situations, including the opportunity to make repeated observations and interviews, obtain feedback from the people studied, test rival or competing explanation and triangulation. All these mechanisms often pose a threat to novice researchers (Yin 2011). In order to maintain the good quality of the data, the interview guides were set in a way so that questions dealing with malpractices came at the tail-end of the interview. Besides, the interview guides were designed to meet the needs of the research questions and the objectives. In terms of the focus group discussions, respondents were chosen from different ethnic backgrounds and communities and females were separated from the males to ensure that the women were relaxed enough to express themselves freely (Sundong 2005). The idea of *triangulation* was thereby chosen to prevent over-reliance on a few methods that might have limitations, and went a long way toward ensuring that the data used in the research had a higher degree of validity (ibid).

4.11 Conclusion

The various approaches to qualitative data generation have been thoroughly presented and discussed in this chapter. This chapter introduced this thesis aim, objectives and research questions, highlighting the rationale for the study. The study employs an actor-oriented approach as the basis for its research design. An actor oriented approach views social actors as ‘knowledgeable and capable’. The study, thus, found this approach to be very helpful in getting smallholder farmers tells their own views about livelihoods and philanthropy. Multiple ethnographic data collection

methods (informal/semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions) discussed in this chapter allows social actors to go beyond merely expressing their views to providing a detailed account of their experiences with philanthropic actors.

Finally, as pointed out in the discussion, the data was analysed manually. The data collection approaches have been shown, including how the data was collected and analyse.

CHAPTER FIVE

PHILANTROPY AND TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

5.1 Introduction

Ghana has experienced what is frequently termed as a resurgence of traditional authority since the early 1990s. Englebert (2002), for example, observes that Ghana revised its 1992 constitution in ways that identify and increase the political weight of traditional institutions and their leaders. Stacey (2015) argues that the recognition given to customary authorities in sub-Saharan Africa is traceable to three overlapping processes: (a) localized pressure has forced some governments to improve chiefs' formal political standing; (b) chiefs may carry out a variety of government functions while their formal standing remains unchanged and (c) many governments have incorporated chiefs into state hierarchies. This recognition of the traditional authorities is also underlined by the inclusion of their agenda at most international platforms and organisations globally. A typical example is the World Bank's 'Promoting Partnership with Traditional Authority Project' in Ghana, which aims to reinforce the capabilities of traditional rulers (Ubink 2007; Aidoo 2012).

In this chapter, I develop an understanding of the experiences of the various social actors involved in philanthropic activities and charity for poverty reduction, and I conduct an analysis of the relations among the various social actors. The chapter begins with detailed discussions of philanthropy and traditional authority. It also examines the role of new philanthropy with regards to rural development. At the tail end of the discussion, the chapter examines the effects of north-south migration on

effective philanthropic collaboration. Finally, a summary of the main issues and conclusions is presented.

The next section provides the socioeconomic background of Dungu and Cheshe in the Northern Region. This is aimed at engaging the reader in the Northern Region to provide a deeper comprehension of how the particularity of history and place catches up with philanthropy, giving to shape the processes of rural development.

5.2 Socioeconomic Profile of Dungu and Cheshe

This section briefly provides a description of the research villages. Two research sites were selected in line with the case study approach adopted in this thesis. As mentioned in chapter three, the research sites were selected after I had conducted a pilot study. Cheshe is a village in the outskirts of the regional capital city Tamale; it is located at about 12km away from the city centre. Agriculture is the main source of livelihood of many of the inhabitants. According to Al-Hassan and Poulton (2009), about eighty percent (80%) are into farming with varied incomes, depending on the nature of the crop cultivated. However, this trend in occupation has continued, with a gradual decline in the farming population due to the loss of farmlands to urbanisation. Agriculture in Cheshe consists of rain-fed cultivation of crops (mainly sorghum, millet, groundnut, cassava, maize and cotton), livestock rearing (cattle, goats, sheep, pigs and poultry) and the collection of products from commercial trees (mainly shea butter and dawadawa). Agricultural activities in this area are predominantly a male activity: society and cultural restrictions have limited the potential of the work of women farmers. Aside from farming, this research has also

observed that there were other economic activities present in the area, including shea-butter processing, groundnut cake making and groundnut oil.

Dungu, which is the second research village, exhibits socioeconomic and political characteristics like Cheshe, but has different geographical features. It serves as an entry point into the Tamale metropolis for those in the Upper East and travellers coming by air because of its strategic location near the Tamale Airport and the Kamina Barracks.[3] It is only 5 miles away from the metropolitan city centre. Despite the similarities of the two villages, Farmers from Dungu however, are without any support from AGRA or any other NGO's working within the community; thus, in this study, it serves the purpose of comparison. The two villages are rural in nature with scattered settlements. The map on the preceding page depicts the exact locations of the villages.[4]

The main economic activities in Cheshe and Dungu reflect the predominant economic activities in the Northern Region, which is dominated by peasant agriculture. Every household was involved in one form of agricultural activity or another. Accordingly, their understanding of farming is that it is an undertaking for livelihood. One respondent - a youth member from Dungu - explained during a focus group discussion that:

[3] Kamina Barracks (6th Battalion of Infantry; 6Bn) is a settlement in Tamale for personnel of the Northern Regional Command of the Ghana Army branch of the Ghana Armed Forces. [1][2] It was named after Kamina Funkstation, a short-wave radio transmitter in the German-occupied colony of Togoland (now Togo) in West Africa.

[4] Rainfall usually occurs between May and October with an annual average of about 1000mm. The weather is generally warm with temperatures ranging between 21^{o}C and 41^{o}C (Makal and Das 2014)

Farming is about one taking a hoe and going to farm to weed and raise yam mounds and ridges, sow the seeds, weed in it so that I can get small money to pay my children's school fees and eat the rest.

Another interviewee, a lady participant argued that;

> *in this part of the country, as you can see, the growing of crops mainly for food is just what farming means to us. We do it for only feeding; we understand farming to mean the cultivation of crops* (Field notes, focus group discussion 21/06/2014).

What this mean is that smallholder farmers, farm as a means to provide for their families, thus, have limited opportunities to generate income by selling the surplus crops from their farm yields on the market since there is often less surplus to be sold (Anning 2011). The unreliable rainfall pattern has further exacerbated the plight of these farmers, as they are not always guaranteed of reliable rainfall for successful farming in order to improve upon their livelihoods. This partly explains the high nature of poverty is more endemic among smallholder farmers in the Northern Region.

Agricultural undertakings in Cheshe and Dungu are akin to the type of agriculture in many parts of the Northern Region; they largely depend on natural rainfall and climatic conditions. Generally, farmers in this area have limited sources of livelihood. For them, crop farming and animal rearing are the most important income generating

activities.[5] The seasonality and annual variability of the rainfall exerts a strong influence on the cycle of agricultural activity. The farming season now begins late in the year, and the inconsistency of the pattern of rainfalls has been steadily increasing, with prolonged drought periods occurring even during the rainy season. This means that farmers are exposed to a higher risk of crop failure, a reduction in the yields of the land and to the loss of livestock due to the shortage of water, without having access to adequate insurance schemes (Yaro 2006; Marchetta 2011). Owing to this erratic rainfall, the rearing of livestock, especially cattle, sheep, goats and poultry have become a significant source of income when food stocks run out. According to Mr Abdulai Hamza, the AGRA farmers' group leader:

> *For the past 8 years or so this village only experiences one month or half and sometimes two months of rainfall, which used not to be the case. When I was growing up, the rain would start in May up to September and also commences in early January but today it is completely different*.

This revelation is an indication of the fact that smallholder farmers in the region virtually put their faith in natural rainfall for farming. My data revealed that farmers were aware of irrigation farming as an alternative, but little efforts have been made by both government and the private sector to facilitate irrigation farming. In all of northern Ghana, the only viable irrigation facility is that of the Tono Irrigation Project, with a potential area of about 3840ha (Etwire et al. 2013). Irrigation is very critical today in this era of climate change, which has caused unpredictable weather patterns across the world. Unpredictable rainfall patterns have been seen by AGRA

[5] The Tamale metropolis and its environs experience one rainy season from April to September or October with a peak in July and August (Adiku et al., 1997). The mean annual rainfall is 1100 mm within 95 days of rainfall in the form of tropical showers.

itself, and it is a major cause of their inability to meet targets. However, nothing is being done about it (AGRA 2014).

Without a doubt, smallholder farmers face insurmountable challenges in their quest to make ends meet, afford farm inputs under irregular rainfall.

> *We live in an era when rain is the determinant of what I should do or not do regarding my farming. When we were growing up, we obviously could tell the months to sow crops and to harvest because it was so reliable but this time around the table has turned. Look, we are in July but have witnessed only two 'baby rains', which does not exist in the past* (interview with Sulemana Wumbei, 11/07/2014).

The research work of Yengoh and others (2010) support the views espoused by Sulemana Wumbei. Yengoh and colleagues found out that rainfall in the northern region is lower than in the equatorial tropical belt and is variable both spatially and seasonally, thereby depriving farmers of the needed yields.

In the researched villages, the community level interactions drawn upon for this analysis reveal that traditionally, men as heads of households and boys as potential heads are socialized as providers, and thus the owners of the production system. This places men and boys in dominant positions. Their allocated roles position them as heirs of household resources, especially land, over which they exercise decision-making concerning production and distribution. On the other hand, women and girls as wives or potential wives are socialised into subordinate positions to depend on male members for resources. Positioned as non-heirs, women and girls have no direct inheritance rights under customary arrangements. They can, however, access

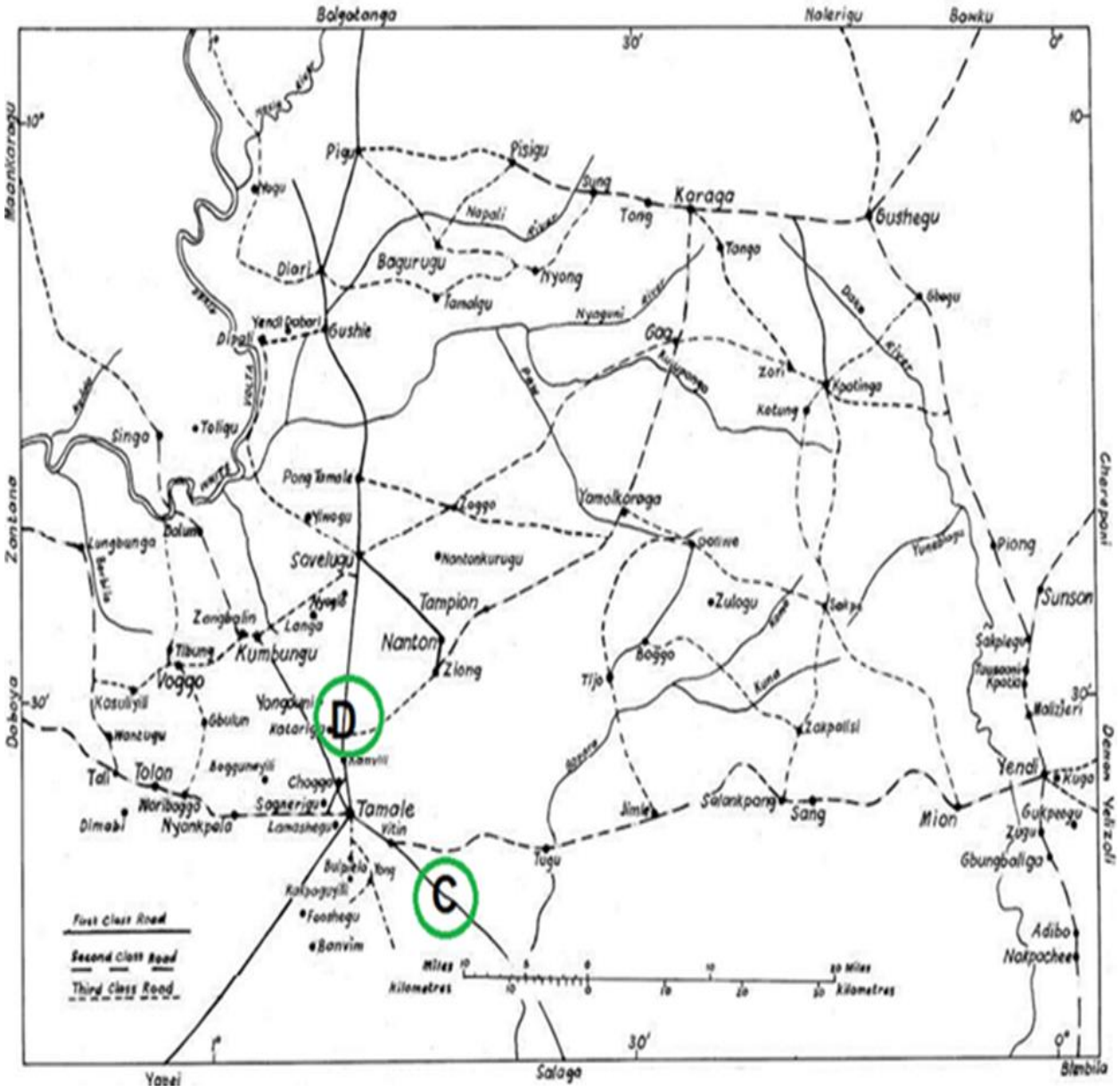
family resources, especially land, for so-called secondary production (Millar 2004). Patriarchal attitudes constrain women's control over land and can keep them in a form of bondage, as reflected in the following quotation by a 75-year-old male farmer from Cheshe in the Northern Region:

> *Even religious faith does not allow women to carry out masculine duties like raising yam mounts and farming in general. Women are supposed to carry out household chores and childbirth. Is that not it officer? Where you are coming from, is the same practice, I know you are one of us* (Interview with an AGRA Official at Accra, an account of an interviewee, on 27/07/2014).

Cheshe and Dungu are characterised by poor water supply systems, and high incidence of unemployment, low income, poor road networks and inadequate storage facilities. The main source of water supply is groundwater, which is usually extracted from boreholes and wells. Figure 5.1 is the map of the Northern Region showing the exact locations of Cheshe and Dungu.

The ensuing section discusses the arguments relating to philanthropy and traditional authorities; it discusses the importance and role of traditional authorities and philanthropy in rural development. This is aimed at immersing the reader in the Northern Region to provide a deeper understanding of how traditional authorities interact with philanthropy to play a significant role in social transformation.

Figure 5.1: Map of Northern Region Showing Cheshe and Dungu



Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2010)

5.2.1 The New Philanthropy and Traditional Institutions

In the previous sections, I argued that African traditional authorities have potential roles to play in rural development. It has also been suggested that rural communities are more attached to traditional institutions than to the state administration representative at the local level (Adams and Taabazuing 2015). Until recently, the activities of philanthropy in developing countries were widely thought to be peripheral to the mainstream efforts of governments and official aid agencies when it comes to issues of poverty reduction. Philanthropic organisations are increasingly being put forward as a vehicle for development, for social protection and as a means for popular participation in social problem solving, especially in developing countries (Moikowa 2005). Philanthropic aid has played an important role in the economic development of many countries across the world through different periods of history (ibid).

There is a long tradition of philanthropic collaboration between philanthropic organisations and traditional authorities in Africa for example. According to Aidoo (2012), in villages where resources are not accessible to other local chiefs who have no transnational networks, the appointment of philanthropists as development chiefs for the purposes of getting the best out of them may be an alternative for raising funds for community development. Throughout Africa where chiefs head traditional institutions, philanthropic organisations have had to liaise with these establishments in order to get their work done with chiefs acting on behalf of their people. A similar line of thinking is evident in the influential work of Ubink (2007), who contends that traditional authorities are often seen as having the capacity to mobilize their subjects behind development initiatives and to be able to use the authority and respect from

their people for community education and awareness creation. Donors, aid agencies and civil society organisations often look upon the chief as a middleman between the people and the government, bridging the often-noted gap between state and society (Ubink 2007). Traditional authorities are the missing link between rural citizens and the state. Because of the intimate knowledge they possess of their areas, this pleads for their inclusion into the community development processes (ibid). Although certain aspects of the development literature view traditional authorities or chiefs as undemocratic and also unrepresentative of the larger population (Mamdani 1996), their intimate contact with the local populace provides them with the opportunity to shape activities at the community level. Other authors also maintain that the relationship between the traditional authorities and the community is that of inclusiveness, representing the whole community beyond difference aimed at seeking the welfare of their subjects and mobilising them for development (Ubink 2007; Whitehead and Tsikata 2003).

As discussed in chapter two, the concept of capitalist philanthropy, as authors such as Morvaridi would want to call it, strives through foundations and organisations working in partnership with several other institutions in order to champion the cause of whatever that they have set out to do. Traditional institutions are important allies of philanthropists, since they serve as gateways to the communities they represent. It is against this background that MoFA, with funding from AGRA, put together a policy document to address challenges related to land access and tenure security with a particular emphasis on women's access and rights to land through traditional institutions. Consequently, the Ghana Land Policy Action Node (G-LPAN) came into fruition. The G-LPAN policy framework seeks to influence policy changes in the land

sector geared towards sensitizing women and smallholder farmers about land rights. Duncan et al. (2013) emphasises the significance of this policy document, in saying that the G-LPAN has strengthened the capacities of traditional authorities, opinion leaders, Land Management Committees, and Officers of Customary Land Secretariats on alternative dispute resolution mechanisms (Duncan et al. 2013).

The use of traditional authorities as a tool for delivering philanthropic development output is, however, challenged by the limitations and institutional capacities of traditional authorities. In attempting to provide explanations for why AGRA, for example, has not dealt adequately with the problems of effective grassroots and local participation in their programmes, Moyo et al. (2009) argue that the problems could be attributed to some wider structural constraints, such as access to land, water, infrastructure, information and credit, which are is necessary to facilitate effective collaboration. AGRA, as an institution cites land ownership and acquisition as the major hindrance to women's participation in the agricultural sector (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation 2012). From this research, it is evident that access to land for agricultural activities poses a serious challenge to both rural dwellers and philanthropic organisations. Some chiefs have been reported to have sold land to private developers at the expense of some inhabitants.

In the course of the focus group discussions, some farmers said that the conduct of some chiefs was rather hindering development. A woman said that sometimes it is very difficult to participate if you are a woman. One farmer from Dungu explained during a one-to-one informal interview that:

As for me, I will say it as it is; our chief and his allies have sold all our lands given to us by our forefathers, but as we speak now they have sold most of those to private developers for their own parochial interest in denying us the opportunity of cultivating on those lands. The most alarming aspect of it all is the fact that even NGOs that came to invest were frustrated by these same traditional leaders and in the end, they left.

5.3 Exploring the Development Roles of Traditional Authorities

Kyei (2000) emphasises that the introduction of democracy in the current republic and the emergence of grassroot participation, enforced by the World Bank, have loosened the restrictions on traditional institutions. Aidoo argues that whilst remote rural communities lack access to adequate infrastructure and state agencies for security, justice and health, the chiefs may need to assume a very central role as an interlocutor between donors and the people, and are therefore vital strategic partners for development. As a result, rural communities headed by their chiefs, are making as great an effort as ever in Ghana toward addressing the problems they face in their communities and their daily lives. This view is supported by Owusu-Sarpong (2003), who asserts that chiefs remain close to the heart of the people and thus, are accepted by the people as their legitimate rulers as well as development agents.

As expressed by Ubink, the traditional authorities are also able to mobilize their subjects, due to their ethnic obligations to follow the leader, behind development initiatives, community education and initiatives to raise awareness. Also, local governance, formed by traditional institutions, is essential in the rural communities where the state government's presence is weak and its activities are limited, due to

the fact that traditional authority serves as a channel to articulate the needs and priorities of the people to the government and other agencies (Ubink 2007).

Traditional institutions are, moreover, vital for land management since they influence the selection and integration of externalities into indigenous practices. The control over the land resides with the paramount chief of each area and he exercises this authority through a hierarchy of local chiefs and rulers (Marchetta 2011). The chief of a village allocates the land to the heads of compounds of different households. Any member of the community can demand to have access to virgin land for cultivation, and the right to use this land can be transferred to his heirs, but the purchase of the land is not permitted. In the same way, land acquisition by any private individual has to be done with the consent of these institutions, because traditional authorities represent established local systems of authority (DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Appiah-Opoku and Hyma 1999). Nevertheless, the acquisition of lands by private individuals comes with a great deal of challenges. As one AGRA officer commented:

> *You know, for sure that there is no free land anywhere in Ghana. Access to land has been one of the major challenges of AGRA in our quest to attain our objectives. As we involve group farming, our focused is normally on community basis; thus, traditional authority and the local assemblies are our prime allies. Particularly, the chiefs who serve as custodians of the various communities wield a lot of influence. To be honest, without them our work cannot see the light of day in most parts of the northern region of Ghana* (Interview with an AGRA Official in Accra, 30/06/2014).

Adding his voice to the debate on the role of traditional authority in rural development, Aidoo (2012) argues that some community chiefs, especially those who have lived and worked in Western Europe or North America, are themselves capable of raising funds for development. They do so by using their experience and networks abroad.

Yet, like any other institution, several scholars have criticized the fashion and manner in which the traditional authorities operate for several reasons. For instance, in most parts of the Northern Region of Ghana, there have been reported cases of abuse of office by traditional authorities, an unfortunate series of chieftaincy disputes, lack of accountability and land-related conflicts resulting in the loss of many lives and enormous physical infrastructural loss (Prah and Yeboah 2011). It is an established fact that the NR alone accounted for 19 out of 26 of the major conflicts that occurred in all Northern Ghana, which is made up of 3 regions (Torto 2013). These conflicts have greatly compromised the critical role that the traditional authorities play in community development. Morvaridi (2012), citing the reports of African Peer Review Mechanism (2005) and the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy, argues that there were serious concerns about the ill-defined role of traditional authorities in local governance in peace-building, security and conflict prevention as a result of a continuing lack of clarity about the roles of traditional authorities.

In summary, customary law in Ghana empowered traditional authorities with enormous powers, especially the institution of chieftaincy. I argue that traditional authorities still have an extremely important role to play in rural community development, despite losing many of its functions to the local governance model of modern democracy. My argument agrees with North (1990), that traditional

institutions, can still serve as points of entry in the search for local options and broad-based approaches to the management of natural resources and the provision of local leadership. In order to focus on rural development, there is a need for traditional and statutory institutions to work together and complement each other.

5.4 North-South Migration

This section discusses the effects of north-south migration and roles of both philanthropy and traditional authority in dealing with the negative effects of migration. The north-south gap in prosperity dates back to the colonial period, when Northern Ghana served as a labour pool for the benefit of the economy in the south, where the few industries were concentrated. This state of affairs has not changed significantly, so migration is still rampant among the most productive labour force of Northern Ghana (Arthur, 1991). The region has historically been a belt of sparse population, with some pockets of population concentration. The largely sparse population is a major consequence of the region's disadvantaged position with respect to natural resource availability (Kwankye et al. 2009). Thus, the disadvantageous nature of Northern Region has been identified as a main cause of north-south migration (ibid).

The migration literature claims that the tendency to migrate hinges on four types of factors: political, economic, socio-cultural, and environmental. Poverty and the lack of employment opportunities have been stated as key contributory factors for many young people to move from the north to urban centres in the south (ibid).

I contend that while it is necessary for philanthropic organisations to work in partnership with traditional authorities and development partners towards poverty reduction, traditional authorities, which have been bestowed with enormous powers

by the constitution of Ghana, ought to consider this phenomenon as a threat to rural development. Indeed, chiefs should play a pivotal role in the efforts to curb north-south migration. This is because chiefs, who are the embodiments of traditional authorities, know the needs and challenges of their local people too well; they also understand the dynamics of the different groups living in local environments (Ubink 2007).

It is an open secret that many of the youth have abandoned agriculture and flocked south in search of lucrative 'white collar' jobs that are often difficult to get. Unfortunately, when individuals arrive in Accra, they are left without accommodation, no means of finding employment, and without any form of social support. For instance, it was extremely difficult to find a single household in the research area that hadn't lost at least one or two relatives to north-south migration. A number of the people who served as contributors to this study stated that they have children, brothers, and other family members in the big cities of Kumasi, Accra, Tokoradi and many other towns in the southern part of the country. In the south, the girls or women work primarily as porters in the markets, they are known as *kayayei,*[6] a word that loosely translates as women who carry loads, whilst their male counterparts either work as casual labourers on cocoa farms in the south, or to take advantage of the different rainfall patterns in the south by working as tenant farmers.

The impacts of migration on the poor and on the Northern Region are the subject of some dispute. Van der Geest (2011) points out that north-south migration offers the opportunity for returned migrants to contribute to domestic food production. In

[6] The word is actually a combination of the Hausa word for load (kaya) and the Ga word for women (yei) for heard porters

contrast, Cleveland's study of the Upper East region found that migration increased dependency ratios (the number of young and elderly dependent on each working age adult) (Cleveland 1991). This study agrees with the conclusion of Cleveland: a lot of able men and women on an annual basis have always migrated to the south, leaving their farms behind in a miserable state. For instance, a farmer stated that he was able to farm only *one acre* of maize for two successive seasons in the absence of his two brothers, but when they were with him, he could boast of several bags of maize, rice and yam as a result of cultivating at least 7 acres of land.

A close partnership between traditional authorities, philanthropic actors and state actors championing the interests of migrants remains a necessary framework for the development platform in order to promote rural development. Traditional authorities, despite the call for collaboration, are rather interested in this aspect of international migration because it is a yardstick for the attraction of funds and financial support for development projects in rural area. De Vletter (2012) argues that most chiefs do not consider it their task to help women and children from broken families (because of migration) but consider remittances to be an opportunity for rural development. Furthermore, modern chiefs are one of many sources of conflicts. Some chiefs have been associated with both internal and external conflicts; their actions and inactions in inter-ethnic community relations have often led to escalations of conflicts rather than the peaceful resolution of disputes. According to Brigadier Nunoo Mensah, the National Security Advisor to the president, stated:

> *I am of the view that Chieftaincy is becoming a major problem in this country. From the national security point of view, it is a major source of conflict and tension in this country and the earlier we look at the institution and modernize*

it and make it more useful for our development, the better it will be for all of us (GhanaWeb 2010).

In response to the need for a collective effort towards curbing the negative effects of the incessant north-south migration, two philanthropists, Michael Alongyah and an American student, Rachel Jackson, jointly formed the *Kayayei Association,* which aims to stop the migration of women and children from the North Region to the south (BIBIR 2010). The *Kayayei Association* empowers women through vocational training, and this has had such an effect that some women have been able to leave their former lives of prostitution and return to their village. However, at the same time, the organisation works on improving the wellbeing of female migrants in Accra by, for example, providing them with national health insurance cards, which entitles them to free treatment and free medicines in the hospital when they need medical help (Denekamp 2011).

Similarly, organisations like the Catholic Action for Street Children, the Rescue Foundation, the Assemblies of God Relief and Development Service and Apple have provided shelter, training and medical assistance for migrants living in deplorable conditions in Accra, Kumasi and Takoradi (BIBIR 2010). Also, BIBIR, an NGO with funding from Intervida Foundation located in Barcelona, trained several female migrants to become professional seamstresses and hairdressers.

Despite the efforts by philanthropic bodies in dealing with north-south migration, they have nonetheless received considerable criticism in the face of a rather worsening migration situation. According to Shepherd and Gyimah-Boadi (2004), in the midst of the involvement of the private sector in the north, the poor migrants feel alienated

from the affluent. Shepherd and Gyimah-Boadi further contends that participation and cost recovery mantras by foundations have excluded poor communities and poor people; they patronise local people, claiming to speak for them, and thereby get in the way of poor people in developing their own voices.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the experiences of the various social actors involved in philanthropic activities and charity for poverty reduction in rural communities and the importance of traditional authority systems in developing socioeconomic life in these communities. Traditional institutions can offer the leadership roles that can assist the struggle for development, for example by rallying support and funding. This chapter has provided the necessary background, detailing the importance of the traditional institution of chieftaincy within a rural village. It has also illustrated the interplay of that institution with the formal statutory one, finding that chiefs perform some functions that the statutory system cannot, as well as vice versa. This study revealed that despite the fact that some chiefs have been accused of playing critical roles in tribal and land conflicts, community members still believe in the role and authority of their chiefs as mechanisms of rural development. Drawing on the fieldwork, I can confirm that chiefs are once again influential in local politics, as they are formally recognised.

The chapter highlighted the underlining reasons for the underdevelopment of the Northern Region. For instance, the Northern Region lacks manufacturing industries that could have readily absorbed some of the teeming unemployed youth in a way to reduce poverty as well as the rampant north-south migration. Manufacturing is only

7.1% in the region, meaning, there are limited employability opportunities in the region. This sector accounts for less than 10 of economic activity in all districts, except in the Tamale municipality, where it accounts for 14.4%. However, there exist many local craftsmen who have expertise and skill in carving, basketry and local furniture making. In view of this, this study recommends the establishment of an industry tailored towards the needs of the aforementioned.

CHAPTER SIX

ALLIANCE FOR A GREEN REVOLUTION IN AFRICA'S (AGRA) INTERVENTION IN RURAL AREAS AND THEIR IMPACTS ON SMALLHOLDER FARMERS

6.1 Introduction

What are the core interventionist activities of AGRA that have been implemented or are being implemented towards improving smallholder farmers' livelihoods? How do smallholder farmers perceive these initiatives in terms of improving livelihoods? What are smallholder farmers' experiences with the execution of these interventionist activities? These are the key questions that this chapter sets out to answer. Therefore, this chapter is designed to identify the impact that philanthropy brings to bear on the livelihoods of poor smallholder farmers as envisaged by smallholder farmers.

The New Green Revolution in Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) is reshaping social relations and transforming rural production through the expansion of commodification to engage small farmers and smallholder farmers in the market (Morvaridi 2012). As pointed out in section 3.5.3, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Rockefeller foundation, which are philanthropic organisations, established and funds AGRA. Since the inception of AGRA, these two dominant philanthropic organisations have remained the major financiers of its operations. As I discussed in a previous chapter, the bulk of their investment in rural areas has been delivered through programmes associated with the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), which is supported by the Bill and Melinda Gates foundation and Rockefeller

Foundation. Toenniessen et al. (2008) posit that AGRA pursues multiple routes to expanding market access for smallholder farmers in order to increase the yields of farmers, a necessary tool for poverty reduction. They do this in connection with marketing companies to help make sure their efforts are demand driven and that farmers are able to market their surplus production. According to AGRA, its foremost objective is to double the incomes of 20 million smallholders through productivity improvements and access to finance and markets; AGRA argues that this is the best possible way to replace state credit with micro-finance (ibid).

AGRA's stated goal in all of this is to help smallholding farmers 'boost their productivity, increase their incomes, and lift themselves and their families out of hunger and poverty (Edwards 2015). It encourages farmers to prioritise pro-poor marketable crops such as maize, millet, cassava and sorghum. A network of 'agro-dealers' has been established, comprising private companies, state agencies, and NGOs, that work to secure smallholding farmers' and peasants' access to credit to enable them to purchase seeds, pesticides and fertilisers (Morvaridi 2012; Thompson 2012). AGRA's Agro-dealers Development Programme was first launched in 2007 to integrate smallholdings into the market (Morvaridi, 2012). It is currently active in Ghana.

Although the debates about the Gates Foundation's Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) continue, and offer the serious criticism that it will transform Africa's farming systems into monoculture and that it is trying to link African food production to the global 'food value chain', this chapter focuses on more the fundamental goals of AGRA (Thompson 2014). AGRA's goal is no less than the 'revolution' of African farming systems. This transformation, however, will emerge from philanthropic

foundations penetrating public institutions in the name of providing food security, not from competitive market transactions (ibid). Thompson (2014) again argues that the production of food by African smallholders is much more than a business transaction; it is a way of life, of sharing, of defining family, of spirituality.

Thompson (2012), for instance, stresses that AGRA's top-down approach and dependency on civil society associations are structured to serve as conduits for corporate interests, and that it is not always easy to work from inside such structures to create an independent voice for producers.

All this explains why Bourdieu (1998) argues that individuals and organizations possessing social capital bring power to their organizations, allowing the organization to develop organizational social capital through embedded connections and social networks. Emirbayer and Johnson (2008), building on Bourdieu's argument, contend that the process by which the value of social capital is produced in the first place is a process that occurs above and beyond the formation and reproduction of concrete social network ties.

In the next section of the chapter, I will be taking a look at AGRA's intervention in Ghana as a whole in order to set the tone for the discussion in the research villages relative to what AGRA does.

6.2 An overview of AGRA in Ghana

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF), the world's largest philanthropic organisation, which established and funds AGRA, has an estimated asset endowment of a massive $43.5 billion (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation 2015). The

BMGF is funding numerous projects and organisations in international development and has been widely praised for injecting money and vigour into policy debates and research. The BMGF gave out $4.2 billion in grants in 2015 and has spent $36.7 billion since its inception in 2000. BMGF has also given grants of around $420 million to AGRA (Curtis, 2016). Former Gates Foundation CEO Jeff Raikes and its director of agriculture, Pamela Anderson, both sit on the board of AGRA. It supports work in more than 100 countries, (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation 2015). The BMGF states:

> *Guided by the belief that every life has equal value, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation works to help all people lead healthy, productive lives. In developing countries, it focuses on improving people's health and giving them the chance to lift themselves out of hunger and extreme poverty. In the United States, it seeks to ensure that all people – especially those with the fewest resources – have access to the opportunities they need to succeed in school and life* (Curtis 2016 : 8).

Apart from the Gates Foundation being the largest financier of AGRA, it has also partnered with AGRA in a number of ways (Toenniessen et al. 2008). For instance, the Gates Foundation partnered with AGRA to make biotechnology products available to smallholders in geographic areas where the private sector currently has little commercial interest. The whole idea behind this agenda is to reform agriculture through public–private philanthropic partnerships that focus on technologies and innovations leading to market exposure (Morvaridi 2016). As a result, a number of partnership deals have emerged involving different local and international organisations. The argument put forward by the BMGF and other enthusiasts in favour of this kind of arrangement is that philanthropists are better placed to support

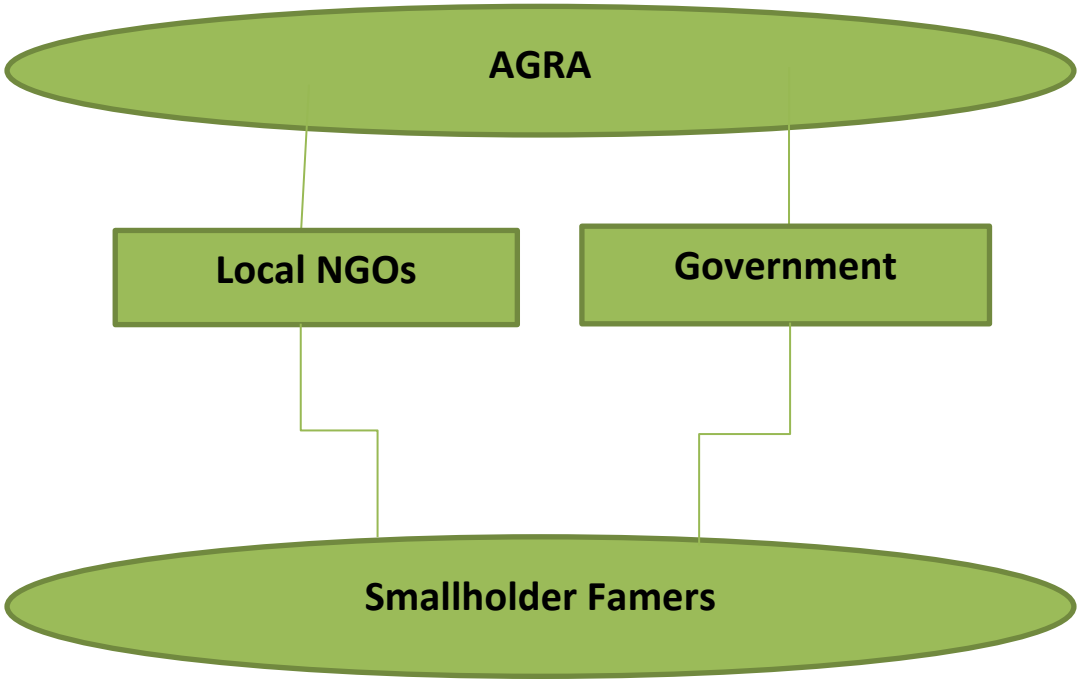
the commodification and marketization of smallholder farmers through partnership (Morvaridi 2016). A closer examination of the BMGF reveals that it wields a much greater influence than most donor governments (ibid).

Nonetheless, some critics say that the BMGF's increasing global influence is not being subjected to democratic scrutiny, unlike governments, which are formally accountable to their electorates (Curtis 2016). Even worse, the BMGF appears to have bought the silence of academics, NGOs and the media, who might otherwise be expected to criticise aspects of the foundation's work (ibid). An analysis of the foundation's programmes shows that it has an agenda – it is a specific ideological strategy that promotes neo-liberal economic policies, corporate globalisation, the technology this brings, and a long out-dated view of the centrality of 'aid' in helping the 'poor' (ibid).

AGRA claims to be a bedrock foundation in facilitating systemic but targeted investments in the agricultural value chain, ranging from training and capacity building in seed systems development to soil health improvements and sustained policy change. Other areas of concentration include the development and dissemination of improved technologies, the development of input and output markets, innovative financing and support for farmer organizations (AGRA 2015). In carrying out its mandate, AGRA, pursue its policies towards smallholder farmers through these the government and NGOs. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA), plant breeders, soil scientists and financial service providers some important agencies in the affairs of AGRA. These form part of AGRA's strategic vision to build partnerships that pool the strengths and resources of the public and private sectors. The following figure depicts in order of significance how AGRA

liaises with government and local NGOs to reach to the smallholder farmers. As seen in the figure, both NGOs and the government are on the same pedestal with smallholder farmers at the receiving end.

Figure 6.1: Specific Relationships between Main Stakeholders



Source: Author's Construct

AGRA's operation in the country consists of four focal areas: seed, soil health, market access, and policy and partnership programmes. Presently, AGRA has 6 major programmes (the Program for Africa's Seed System, the Soil Health Program, Markets, Policy & Partnerships, the Agra Breadbasket Strategy and AGRA Grants) (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation 2012). It is under these programmes and projects that AGRA executes its mandate (see Appendix B). However, I need to forcefully

make the point that AGRA does not deal directly with smallholder farmers. As its name suggests, Alliance for a Green Revolution is an amalgamation of several organisations for the purpose of fostering a green revolution in Africa (Duncan 2013). Therefore, all the programmes listed above have a series of projects undertaken by different organisations that have won grants or contracts from AGRA. The table below illustrates the core activities of AGRA in Ghana.

Table 6.1: AGRA-Ghana Progress Report 2014

Capacity Development	Technology Development and Commercialization	Technology Adoption (Estimates)
• **18** PhDs funded in plant breeding **(13**) and agronomy (**5)** • **31** MSc students funded in crop **s**cience **(26)** and soil science **(5)** • **34** lab technicians trained in plant and soil analysis best practices • **3,782** lead farmers trained in agronomic practices • **2,605** farmer organizations trained in the use of agronomic practices • **51,332** farmers trained in business development, group dynamics and leadership and **46,869** farmers trained in post-harvest handling, quality standards, storage, structured trading • **314** extension agents trained in best agronomic practices and **5,250** agro-dealers trained	**42** improved seed varieties have been released by the government regulatory agency: • Cassava **(10)** • Cowpea **(3)** • Groundnut **(4)** • Maize **(15)** • Rice **(7)** • Soybean **(3)** **36** improved seed varieties Commercialized by public and private seed enterprises **11** seed companies supported by AGRA **5,982** MT of seed produced by AGRA supported seed companies **128,819** MT of inorganic fertilizer sold to farmers	• **204,620** farmers using improved seed varieties • **152,521** hectares planted with improved seed varieties • **227,110** farmers using fertilizer, organic manure and good agronomic practices • **203,902** hectares cultivated using fertilizer, organic manure and good agronomic practices

Source: Adapted from AGRA (2014).

6.3 Philanthropic Partnerships for Rural Development and Food Security?

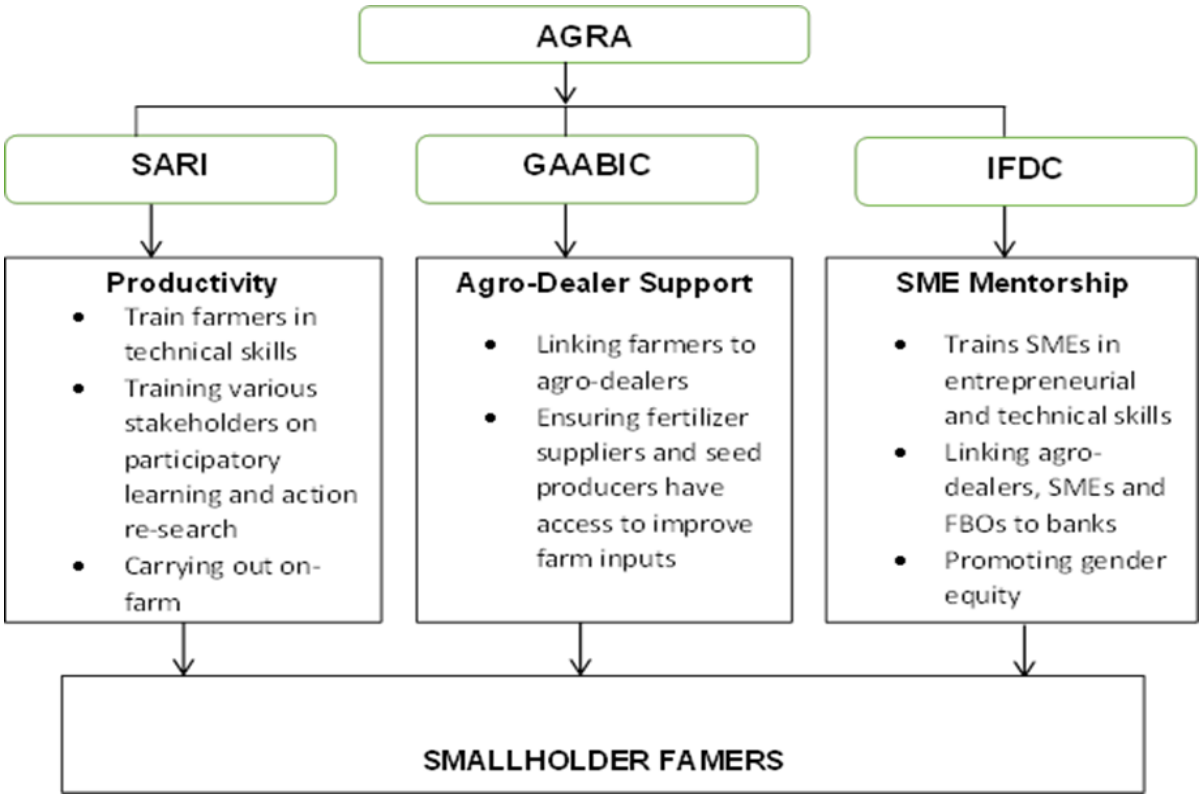
In this section, I intend to discuss some specific areas of activities undertaken so far by AGRA to promote its agenda for a green revolution in the Northern Region. The focus here is to identify key programme areas of intervention and their impact on the livelihoods of smallholder farmers. This is in line with recent calls in the literature for: (i) the need to understand whether SSA really needs capitalist philanthropy to reduce poverty and achieve food security (Morvaridi 2016), and (ii) the need for more independent empirical studies to investigate the extent to which activities of the new philanthropy, specifically the AGRA, have the potential to improve the yields of farmers. This section questions the already planned framework of activities, which guides AGRA's operations. In doing this, I intend to illustrate how this framework, with its coined specific areas of concentration (FBOs, seeds, agro-dealers, etc.) rather works against the interests of smallholder farmers (Thompson 2012).

Most inhabitants of the Northern Region live in rural areas and depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. These predominantly small-scale farmers face many challenges, including food insecurity, rising poverty, and natural resource deprivation. In order to increase the productivity, profitability, and sustainability of their farms, they need greater access to affordable yield-enhancing inputs, including well-adapted seeds and new methods for integrated soil fertility management, as well as to output markets where they can convert surplus production into cash (Toenniessen et al. 2008). As mentioned before, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to address the aforementioned needs of smallholder farmers primarily established AGRA. The second research question in this thesis explores whether or not this kind of philanthropic involvement in the affairs of smallholder

farming leads to an increase in the yields of farmers. This section and other subsequent subsections discuss AGRA's activities, relying on the detail accounts of interviewees about key areas of AGRA's interventions.

AGRA's operations in the Northern Region are not very different from its core operational agenda for the whole country. The AVCMP (see section 3.5.3), jointly funded by the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and AGRA is the main focus of attention in this section. Indeed, thirty-five smallholder farmer interviewees who contributed to this thesis are a group of farmers involved in this rural development programme. As mentioned in chapter four, the thirty-five (35) smallholder farmers were sampled in Cheshe, the village that has Cheshe *Kpaman Kawuni Song Farmers Based Association*. Out of the total number of thirty-five, twelve are women and twenty-three are men. Figure 6.2 presents a diagrammatic representation of a framework that depicts AGRA and its key allies in the AVCMP.

Figure 6.2: Relationship between Stakeholders and Roles



Source: Author's constructs.

The selection of partners forms one of the key strategies of AGRA. As mentioned before, the title of their organization, 'alliance', denotes an association of organisations to cooperate to achieve a common goal. This strategy means a lot to them. The selection of these partner organisations was done through open competitive proposal submitted by eligible organisations through the various sector managers. This is what Mr John Sey, the programme officer for Farmer Organization Support Centre in Africa (FOSCA), explains:

> *There are a lot of NGO's out there looking for various grants depending on the focus the particular organisation. What we often do is to advertise extensively on the dailies, and on our website soliciting for suitable proposals. From initial*

submissions, we then shortlist those seven companies that have the capability to meet the project timelines and quantities. The last lap consists of interviews and selection (Interview with John Sey, Tamale, 21/07/ 2014)

The mandate to recruit farmers into the AVCMP rest squarely on the shoulders of local partners. According to the Project Manager for the AVCMP, Afua Ohene-Ampofo, the selections of farmers is done based on the primary goal of AVCMP which seeks to contribute towards the Government of Ghana's objective of achieving food security and becoming an agro-industrial economy by strengthening the capacity of agro-dealers, SMEs, and Farmer Based Organizations. Afua further explains how farmers are selected:

To be able to identify farmers who are truly in need of our interventions, we often liaise with the various local authorities such as the District Assemblies to provide us with data on neglected communities. We often send our community project assistants to these communities and register heads of household members that our funds can support (Interview with Ohene Ampofo Afua, Tamale, 14/07/ 2014).

The core mandate of IFDC, SARI and GAABIC under AVCMP has been clearly explained in Figure 6.2. Here the roles of the individual organisations are analysed with respect to their distinctive roles. As referred to in section 6.3, facts from Cheshe show that smallholder farmers derive some benefits from the AVCMP, the heartbeat of AGRA's intervention in the Northern Region. For example, seven of the AGRA recipient interviewees from Cheshe stated they have been linked to inputs and services, videos show, radio programs, onstage dramas, the distribution of print

materials, and the establishment of on-farm demonstrations (see chapter two). The same cannot be said of Dungu, the second research village. Facts from Dungu show that villagers derive absolute nothing from local philanthropic partnerships. However, as explained in chapter four, the livelihood situations in both villages are uniquely similar; one cannot even distinguish between a farmer who receives support and one without any form of support. For example, the participants interviewed from both villages affirmed they derive several products from the forest, such as herbal leaves for medicinal uses, leather from animal skins, and different species of snakes for consumption or sale. The following dialogue between the researcher and Mr Sumani Sheeni depicts the real sentiments of the people on the ground. Mr Sheeni is a poor farmer; he is 57 years old, and is married to three wives with sixteen children and three grandchildren. He owns a total of eight acres of land for various types of cultivations. I gathered the following information on the level of dependence, benefits as well as challenges villagers derives and face from AGRA activities in Cheshe:

> ***Interviewer:*** *What is the level of support that you received from and in which form AGRA?*
>
> ***Sheeni:*** *Training and farming implements (hoe, cutlasses, and wellington boots.*
>
> ***Interviewer:*** *As a percentage, how much of your farming is borne by AGRA and how much is without their support bought?*
>
> ***Sheeni:*** *85% without AGRA and the rest with them.*
>
> ***Interviewer:*** *Do you have any difficulties or issues with AGRA or accessing your group allocation(s), as an idea and in practice? Elaborate.*

Sheeni: *The problem we have is that you can only benefit if you belong to this association, (Kpaman Kawuni Song Association) not everybody belongs to it. I have a lot of friends and family members who have expressed the desire of obtaining similar supports but once they are out of the group nothing can be done about it.*

Interviewer: *Could you tell me an idea about your annual gains?*

Sheeni: *It has been better than the previous. Also, depending on the rainfall pattern, I had about five bags of maize last year from three acres of land, the previous year was even worse as I had just around two bags from six acres.*

Interviewer: *Does AGRA provide more economic opportunity for you?*

Sheeni: *No* (Interview transcript with Sumani Sheeni, Cheshe, 23/7/2014).

Mr Sumani Sheeni recognises AGRA's role in training farmers in modern techniques of farming, including the provision of Wellington boots, hoes and cutlasses for farming. On the other hand, he equally points out the inherent weakness of AGRA, stating that he does not believe the AGRA platform offers him any better economic opportunity. Sheeni also reiterated the point made in chapter four, that the fact that they receive support through their association with a particular group makes it impossible to build individual capacity and have absolute control over the yield realised in order to increase income of farmers. This revelation corroborates the findings of Martey et al (2015). Their study analyses the impact of participation in AVCMP on technical efficiency and farm income of soybean farmers in the Northern Region of Ghana, and concludes that smallholder farmers' participation in development projects such as the AVCMP does not necessarily improve farm income.

This study also found that majority of smallholder farmers, that is, twenty-seven (27) out of the thirty-five (35) in Cheshe for example do not support the idea of different organisations devising and implementing programmes for the livelihoods of smallholder farmers without involving them, the farmers. In an interview with Doobia Bawa, a 25-year-old unmarried man who lived among a large family of thirty-one members, I got the following submissions:

> *I want to tell you one thing, and you tell me whether I'm wrong or right. When you go to Accra or Kumasi do you see farms in those cities as you observe here in the north? The answer is no, because in these places they have their own peculiar needs; this is equally applicable to us here in our own communities. You don't expect the government to be buying and supplying the people of Accra, with a hoe and a cutlass because they don't need it. In the same way one should not expect to see the supply of raw materials for the production of cement here in this village because we don't even have the factory. This is the problem of AGRA/SARI. They have taught some of us agronomic practices on how to increase crop yields through fertilizer applications and the application of certified seeds and timely weeding of farmlands. But if you ask me, these are not the urgent needs of me and my colleagues in this community. What is the use of all these practices if one cannot carry out uninterrupted farming? Had they come to us first, I would have told them that, they should first and foremost ensure that I am able to plough my land, because these days the cost of tractor service is so high to be able to afford one. Secondly, I believe the number one problem of farmers in the Northern Region is the erratic rainfall pattern that we are recording*

lately. If there is intervention at all, it used to be geared to arresting these issues (an interview with Doobia Bawa, Cheshe, 23/07/ 2014).

Comparatively, the situation in Dungu village was not very different from Cheshe: twenty-four (24) of the thirty-five (35) of the smallholder farmers about seventy percent of the farmers that I interviewed said their general needs go beyond what AGRA or any non-governmental organisation can offer. I also found that about eleven out of the seventy farmers from both villages are educated and have a better appreciation of the issues. For example, Mr Alhassan Timothy, 34, a high school graduate, married with two children in Dungu village, during the course of informal interview reveals:

When they come here they don't usually ask for our views. All they do is to form groups and they show the members of the group what they should do in order to be trained or be invited for on-farm demonstrations on how to farm effectively but as we speak, they are yet to start their activities here. The whole of this village is a group, and if you cannot adequately cater for all of us then what is the point of selecting few? I don't even believe that if we are trained in those new techniques will automatically inure to our benefit. Can AGRA/SARI or ADRA protect us against the climate change, which is currently preventing us from farming? This is what we need, tell them about us (an interview with Alhassan Timothy, Dungu, 23/7/2014).

The views expressed by smallholder farmers in terms of their survival being tied to natural climatic conditions, particularly rainfall, which has not been tackled by AGRA,

were also supported by Muller-Kuckelberg (2012). The study conducted by Muller-Kuckelberg found that:

> *The Northern Region, the major decreases in soil moisture, fertile grounds and water availability in other parts of the country is putting farmers and agricultural workers in a difficult position. Without a proper water management facility, the farmers cannot react to the shortages of rainfall and their harvest is always at risk.*

On the contrary, the AGRA interviewees hold different views. The following interview transcript from the programme manager for AVCMP based in the AGRA head office, Accra, contradicts the accounts of the smallholder farmers in this study and that of Martey and colleague researchers. When asked about the ways in which philanthropy improves the livelihoods of smallholder farmers, I obtained the following response:

> *Farmers' yields have improved and that can be translated into income because we helped them to produce and sell. The income made is used to improve their socioeconomic status and also, we help the seed companies to provide seeds to the farmers. [On the] individual level, people are able to increase their yield and acquire technology that has translated into improved income in order to meet their needs.*

The Program Officer, AgroDealer Development, Dr Kehinde Makinde, was asked the same question and he replied as seen below;

We give them knowledge on seeds and fertilizers to help them increase their yield. I believe our support has been very effective, leading to astronomical increases in yield, which ensures food security.

Both senior programme offices in the AGRA head office in Accra hold strong views that AGRA is able to significantly influence increase in crop yields and income to the benefit of smallholder farmers. The position taken by these two senior-most personalities in AGRA gives credence to the argument that the current philanthropic practice is driven by the need to find technological solutions, and is designed to yield measurable and fairly quick solutions--a mentality that allows business people to succeed as hedge-fund managers (Edwards 2010; Ramdas 2011). A symptom of this may be found in the kind of skills that new foundations are seeking.

6.4 Farmer Based Organizations (FBOs) and Smallholder Farmers

According to AGRA, smallholder farmers need to be organized to maximize on economies of scale to ensure access to input and output markets. Partnership with strong, effective Farmer Based Organizations (FBOs) is vital to enable AGRA to engage smallholder farmers to achieve the required level of capacity (Moyo et al. 2009). This forms part of AGRA's strategic vision, to build partnerships that pool the strengths and resources of the public and private sectors. AGRA does emphasise the importance smallholder producers, which is not very significant given that the majority of farmers in Africa can be defined as smallholders (Asibey-Bonsu 2012).

FBOs have always existed in the Northern Region in one form or another and are been promoted by various governmental and non-governmental institutions as well as other private organizations working in the interest of farmers (Kwarteng 2010).

FBOs range from informal village-level groups to organized groups. The informal village-level groups form the greater proportion of FBOs in the region. For instance, AGRA reports of working with 589 Farmer Based Organisations (FBOs) in all the twenty-six districts of the region, in addition to 475 agro-dealers and 56 SMEs located across the twenty-six project districts (AGRA 2014). This, in AGRA's view, is substantial.

It was generally reported that individual farmers outside the domain of philanthropic partnership FBOs are not allowed to benefit from any of the activities emanating from such collaborations. Considering the fact that only few farmers receive support, it can be concluded that the concept of working with FBOs has not worked effectively in the interest of farmers, but rather to the interest of those FBOs and AGRA (see Afua's interview above on group formation and selection in section 6.2). As evident in the quotation below, FBOs have always exploited innocent farmers in furtherance of their own interest:

> *The Cheshe Kpaman Farmers Association, [of] which I am a member, has three farms, 20 acres of soybean demonstration, 10 acres made up of maize and 40 acres of rice. They determine what happens to the produce of these farms and not us: pricing, storage, and the rest. Most of us are combining farming with other activities and trade more individualistic [ally] than in associations or groups formed by AGRA. I think AGRA and allies are so fixated in pushing for their interests than what really make us better off. The other time I asked Mr Edem whether some of my friends can partake the on-farm demonstration, he told me AGRA can only work with the 40 of us due to*

the fact that his organisations must make a profit and report to their financiers without delay (Seidu Fatima in focus group discussion, Cheshe, 23/07/2014).

On the same issue, another discussant explained:

What I have realised is that issues that have consistently popped up have not been attended to. Let me give just two examples: for instance, most members complained of a lack of tractor services and subsidised fertilizer, but we have been told to channel our grievances in writing to the IFDC office in Tamale to do this for us. Tell me, if they say they are here to help me prosper, why can't they do things that directly affect me for me? For me, they are just using farmers to enrich their organisations and friends and I'm not surprised many people are unwilling to join our association (interview with Ibrahim Issifu, Cheshe, 23/07/2014).

This supports Guyver and MacCarthy's (2011) findings that in Ghana, farmers were reluctant to participate in an association the membership of which involved clearing virgin land on which to farm, and that poor weather and waterlogged soil meant that output was at half the expected levels. Guyver and McCarthy also revealed that the majority of farmers in the project locations viewed agriculture as a way of life and not a business. This reinforces the argument in this study that AGRA's partnership with FBOs portrays a top-down relationship where FBOs are umbilically linked to AGRA programmes and products.

To conclude, the above discussions indicate that AGRA's dependence on FBOs is partly the reason why many local organisations accumulate absolute power from the top; why the scramble for funding has fuelled unhealthy competition amongst

themselves and other partners in alliance with AGRA in the region and the district authorities; why these local organisations have become more accountable to AGRA than smallholder farmers. Interview data in this research suggest that only a few number of smallholder farmers were able to acquire inputs as well as adhere to the enforced modernization policies of AGRA (see section 6.4.1). AGRA thus appears to be promoting division and exacerbating inequality. This agrees with the findings of Hill (2014) that the use of inputs such as inorganic fertilizer was profitable for the average maize farmer between 2011 and 2012, when the government of Ghana subsidized the fertilizer price. Hill further made the point that, only about one third of the farmers were found to be applying inorganic fertilizer due to the problem of affordability and other problems.

6.4.1 Increasing Yields through Improved Seeds and Fertilizer?

This section follows the discussion of FBOs to critically analyse the role of improved seeds in AGRA's green revolution agenda in the Northern Region. In terms of seed production and supply to farmers in the Northern Region, AGRA engaged the services of ten local seed production companies in Ghana, of which three are based in Tamale, the Northern Regional capital city. The provision of seeds to farmers in the Northern Region rested on the shoulders of these companies, namely, Heritage Seeds, Lexbok and the Savanna Seed Services Company (SASSEC) since 2008. These companies have won various grants from AGRA at different stages to produce improved and certified cereals, legumes and oil seeds and sell to farmers at subsidized prices of 50% of the market prices. For instance, Lexbok Limited won a grant of about $19999.22 grants to produce 850 metric tons of maize, soybeans, rice

and groundnuts to about 92,000 farmers within three years. Indeed, some farmers have revealed that they were linked to various value chain services and packages (inputs seeds, fertilizers and market access). However, there is still a plethora of concerns regarding the number of farmers that AGRA is able to train or link to the services. This is why Holt-Giménez (2008) maintains that the challenge does not consist in convincing transnational agribusiness to appropriate African seed and fertiliser markets, but in creating the social and economic conditions for the rapid and sustainable growth of Africa's agro ecological alternatives and not introduce systems that alienate smallholder farmers.

Despite AGRA's claim of high patronage of fertiliser usage, Imoru and Ayamga (2015) have argued that the average fertilizer use in the country is only 7.4kg per hectare of cropland, compared to an average application rate of 35.2 kg per hectare in Côte d'Ivoire. The reliance on local organizations for voucher distribution has, to some degree reinforced elite farmer biases, as these organisations have the tendency to focus on the so-called progressive farmers. Options for the direct targeting of beneficiaries would go a long way to improve smallholder participation. A similar sentiment is expressed by Scoones and Thompson (2011) that Africa accounts for less than 3 percent of global fertiliser consumption, and that the use of synthetic fertilisers by smallholder farmers to improve production is often not economically feasible due to high prices and the risk of drought stress. These claims are also supported by evidence in this study. The following quotation below, beginning with 75-year-old Danaa Damba, who is married to two women and has thirty-five children, and currently lives with twenty-five of them in the same household exemplifies this:

> *It is true that those who able to benefit from farming nowadays are the people who have the money. Why I'm I saying this? Today, everything about farming depends on money, because you need money to be able to buy fertiliser, seeds, herbicides, etc. I was thinking the arrival of SARI/AGRA was going to make it very easy for me to able to afford some of this stuff but that is not the case. A bag of fertiliser is about GH¢ 85* (£17)[7] *per 50kg bag of compound fertilizer and GH¢ 80 (*£16*) per 50kg bag of urea fertiliser with subsidy. I don't think many people in this village can get that amount of money to buy. This is the problem, my friend. I attend their meetings, listen to them and go to my farm do what I can do to improve the soil myself; by allowing the land to fallow, add[ing] cow dung and also burn[ing] all live trees. This is what I do to get something out of my farm. Even [if] I have that amount of money, I won't use it to buy only fertiliser* (interview with Danaa Damba, Cheshe, 21/06/2014).

A number of farmers face similar issues regarding their inability to afford improved seeds and chemical fertiliser for farm use. The following two respondents reiterate the idea that these farming inputs are still beyond the reach of many smallholder farmers, even though they have been made available at a rate 50% cheaper than the market price as a result of a subsidy. Below is the account of a 65-year-old widow, Ramatu Dakurugu, who has been forced to single-handedly fend for six children as a result of the untimely demise of her husband:

[7] Cedi is the national currency, that is, the legal tender for transacting businesses in Ghana. As at the time of conducting my fieldwork, that was 2014, the exchange rate Between British Pound sterling and Cedi was £1= GH¢ 3.2.

I cultivate maize and groundnut. I can only farm about two acres of maize, though I would have wished to add more acres to it, but because of the cost of fertilizer and ploughing, I only cultivated one acre of groundnut. Last season, for example, because of rain failure I didn't harvest anything. Based on that painful experience, I have decided to cultivate one acre of maize and rice each (interview with Dokurugu Ramatu, Dungu, 21/06/2014).

Traditional institutions are powerful institutions in the research area, and chiefs, in their line of duty and serving as the representatives of the people, are often the first point of call for philanthropic organizations and investors generally. Chiefs and elders play an important role in the lives of their subjects. Therefore, during my fieldwork, I interviewed the village chief of Dungu on a number of pressing issues, including his views on improved seeds and fertilizer. This is what he had to say:

As smallholder farmers, we are bedeviled with a lot of challenges; when I heard of AGRA, I initially thought that our problems with the acquisition of the seeds we heard on the radio was going to be a thing of the past but I was wrong. The biggest challenge we have is getting quality seeds at affordable prices during planting season. For years now, most farmers resort to the old techniques of farming; [they] rotate the seeds that they obtain from the previous yield or borrow from neighbours. How do you expect me to buy seeds that cost about 8-10 times more than the local ones on the market? I can even store the better part of my harvest and plant them. The weather has become volatile; we are being subjected to many diseases as a result of bad weather patterns, especially cereal crops that give us our daily bread. I want SARI or AGRA to do something about the seeds sold in the market, they

> *should recognize our role in national development. We want them to recognize the efforts we are making in feeding our families and the entire nation through the rearing of poultry, fisheries and even some are even cultivating crops. So, the issues regarding seeds and fertilizer ought to be looked at dispassionately. Even the ones that are available more often than not do not get to the grassroots; [they do] not get to the real farmers* (Interview with Naa Salifu Nindoo, Chief of Dungu, 21/06/2014).

The views of Naa Salifu (Chief) corroborate those of Danaa Damba, Dokurugu Ramatu and many others. In particular, the chief categorically made reference to diversions of inputs meant for smallholder farmers by local philanthropic partners. It is clear from the analysis above that smallholder farmers prefer to select seeds from their previous harvest for replanting than to commit their meagre resources to buy subsidized inputs. The claim by Mr Patrick Appullah, a seed developer, that only 8% of HYV seeds have been used since 1976 has been confirmed by these comments (see quote below).

On the specific issue of patronage, the evidence gathered demonstrates that, contrary to the claim that AGRA's PASS raises farmer productivity by promoting viable seed markets, developing new varieties of HYV locally-adapted crops and improving the ways in which farmers' access these critical input, serious bottlenecks exist. It was revealed that delays and high rent charges which add up to the final cost of seeds and fertilizer for the resource-poor farmers contributed to increase farmers' costs by 5%, leading to low patronage (Dogbe et al. 2012). Similarly, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture's figures indicate that yields for most crops are 20–60 per cent below their achievement level under existing technologies, combined with the use of

modern inputs such as fertilizers and improved seeds in the Northern Region (Diao et al. 2012). According to Apullah Patrick, the General Manager of SASSEC:

> *Even though our mandate over the years is to make seeds available at subsidized prices, often accompanied by farm demonstrations for farmers to see the benefits of improved seeds, nonetheless, only 8% of improved seeds have been used by farmers since 1976* (an interview with Apullah Patrick, Tamale, 27/07/2014).

While many of the smallholder farmers and local seed breeders such as Mr Appulah Patrick believe high prices and other environmental factors cause HYV and fertiliser to be used less, the Project Manager of the productivity component of the AVCMP, Dr Wilson Dogbe, holds a contrary opinion that sharply contradicts Apullah's argument that less than 8% of improved seeds were used by farmers since 1976. Dr Wilson Dogbe contends that:

> *Improved farmer access to inputs, cultivation services and technology resulted in at least 50% yield increases across our target crops* (Rice, Soy and Maize) *and close to 40% of our improved seeds have been used* (email correspondence with Dr Wilson Dogbe, 04/07/2015).

In summary, as illustrated in chapter four, poor transportation and warehousing facilities as well as inadequate quality control and regulation, including limited product and technical knowledge of actors, made the impact of these interventions worrisome. This is because these bottlenecks impeded the attainment of the primary goals of the PASS strategy, which is to establish a vibrant, competitive African seed sector populated with numerous seed enterprises, independently pursuing profitable

operations while at the same time providing improved seeds to smallholder farmers who still cannot afford them (ibid).

6.4.2 Exploring Issues in Smallholder Farmers' Access to Market and Finance

The previous discussion in this chapter has shown how AGRA promotes a market-driven approach by supporting FBOs to produce, sell HYV maize seeds, chemical pesticides, fertilizers and herbicides to farmers. It is argued that the lack of markets is a core problem due to insufficient possibilities for smallholder farmers to generate income. Also, the purchase of agricultural inputs to boost productivity is restricted.

Toenniessen et al. (2008) posit that AGRA pursues multiple routes to expanding market access for smallholder farmers in order to increase the yields of farmers, a necessary tool for poverty reduction. They do this in connection with marketing companies to help make sure their efforts are demand driven and that farmers are able to market their surplus production. According to AGRA, its foremost objective is to double the incomes of 20 million smallholders through productivity improvements and access to finance and markets (AGRA 2013a). AGRA argues that this is the best possible way to replace state credit with micro-finance. Over the years, grants made by the BMGF have also included an aspect of helping smallholder farmers finance their businesses with loan guarantees and other credit support. AGRA's Innovative Finance Program aims to provide loans for smallholder farmers and agribusinesses, using loan guarantee funds to leverage larger loans from commercial banks (Obenland 2014). AGRA's Innovative Finance Programme is a loan guarantee fund that leverages much larger loans from commercial banks. The loan guarantee funds are available to insure against a proportion of loan defaults.

For instance, in March 2009, Standard Bank and AGRA signed an agreement under which Standard Bank will offer US $100 million in loans to smallholder farmers and small agricultural business, US $25 million each in Tanzania, Mozambique, Ghana and Uganda (AGRA 2016). AGRA and its partners agreed to put up a $10 million loan guarantee, which enabled Standard Bank to offer lower-interest loans with Ghana‘s Millennium Development Authority (GMDA), being contributing partners to the loan guarantee fund (ibid). AGRA aims to work with additional partners to leverage up to US $2 billion in low-interest loans for smallholder farmers and small-to-medium sized African agricultural businesses. According to AGRA, its pilot innovative finance scheme has resulted in less than two percent default rates. However, in Ghana in the year 2014, the default rate stood at 8.6% (AGRA 2014).

In the Northern Region, the AVCMP, as mentioned earlier, has rural finance components matched with business development services to improve access to credit to small businesses, farmers and agribusinesses. The AVCMP facility focuses on improving access to long-term finance combined with mentorship (technical assistance) to key players (farmers, FBOs, SMEs, agro-dealers, aggregators, etc.) in the rice, maize and soybean value chains. There are various categories of financial intermediaries in the Northern Region, ranging from commercial banks, rural community banks, microfinance institutions, NGO financial facilitators and others. According to AGRA, it is able to liaise with rural community banks and some micro finance institutions to offer short term loans to meet the bulk financing needs of semi-formal actors in the agricultural value chain, such as secondary farmer-based organizations and other smallholder farmers, agro input dealers, etc. It is being

revealed that the Stanbic Bank is a project partner with AGRA together with the AVCMP in the implementation of the Agricultural Value Chain Facility (AGRA 2014).

However, just like the myriad of problems associated with many of the programmes of AGRA, the innovative finance program has its own as well. Information gathered showed that many of the commercial banks would not provide flexible terms for development-oriented financial schemes to agricultural value chain actors, particularly those mentored under the AVCMP referred to as project SMEs. For instance, the Stanbic Bank, which acts as one of the official partners to AGRA's activities in the Northern Region, operates an agricultural term finance portfolio for purely commercial actors. Lending requirements for both AVCMP facilitated loan applications and independent agribusinesses are 25.2% in addition to 15% collateral according to AGRA's Sustainable Partnership Initiative report in 2014. During the course of an interview I conducted at Cheshe, a 45-year-old housewife with seven children and in a household with eighteen others, Ashetu Nabla lamented on how difficult it was for smallholder farmers to access loans from financial institutions with such high rates of interests. Her comments are presented as follows:

> *If I had 15% of GHC 50,000 loans that I applied for, I wouldn't even go to the bank for any loan in the first place. Calculate 15% of that amount and you will see that is a lot of money. All the banks that accompanied AGRA to our previous meeting have collaborated or ganged up and they are accepting that amount as deposit. As for the interest of payment, only God knows how much that is. It keeps changing, don't mind them if they tell you it's fixed at a specific rate. I can tell you on authority that as the vice chairman of the Kpaman Farmers Association I knew of only two people out of 50 members of our*

group have been able to apply for loans from Snappi Aba bank (interview with Ashetu Nabla, Cheshe, 23/7/2014).

In Dungu, the universal rates of interest charged by financial institutions also permeate this society. Data from Dungu showed that some farmers have tried unsuccessfully to access loans in aid of their farming activities. The number of smallholder farmers who have expressed their desire to access loans far outnumbered that of Cheshe, due to the fact this village is without an AGRA presence. A particular case in point is Dauda Seidu's account below. Mr Seidu was born in this community, 28 years of age, married with five kids, believes farming in this contemporary time is meant for the rich and not poor. The summary of his submission is captured below:

Everything about farming now involves money. You need money to buy fertilizer, chemicals, seeds that 'can disobey' the climate change, money to plough and so many other areas. Ione would have thought the influx of these numbers banks will make money cheaply available but it's rather the opposite. The terms for repayments of credits are unfriendly and 'killersome'. The last time I took a loan from the Bonzali Rural Bank, I had to sell all my produce and some animals in order to repay. In fact, that loan rather weakens me and made me a laughing stock in this village (interview with Dauda Seidu, Dungu, 22/06/2014)

In agreement with 'Seidu', 'Ashetu' and other smallholder farmers, AGRA's Sustainable Partnership Initiative report painted an even worse picture of the nature of interest rates that the outfit is able to negotiate for smallholder farmers. AGRA claims that rural banks, for example, can only deliver short-term credit to the

borrowers at high interest rates, sometimes close to 40%, through micro-finance portfolios. The report adds:

> *Analysis based on characteristics of banking institutions proves that commercial banks are interested in credit involving huge sums ranging from GHC 100,000 to leverage transaction costs. The profile of the AVCMP project, SMEs whose applications were not considered fell short of this target. The AGRA-Stanbic Bank Term Facility is barely known to the technical players. The vast majority of players might have never heard of this facility. One of the reasons is that the bank does not have dedicated personnel to promote and market the facility* (AGRA 2013b)

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that high rates of interests (19% for maize farmers and 22% for other producers) drive many smallholder farmers away from capitalizing on the open access to loans created by AGRA in Cheshe, for instance. There is doubt that indeed, farmers have been linked to these services; however, as discussed, AGRA as an institution is helpless when it comes to interest rates in the country as a whole. The argument of Griffin (1979) that unless smallholder farmers have equal access to knowledge, finance and material inputs, innovation will inevitably favour the prosperous and the secure at the expense of the poor and the insecure fits well here. In both villages, smallholder farmers were denied from accessing loans because of outrageous repayment terms and conditions. The experience of smallholder farmers with regards to access to capital and finance from the research areas was supported by the findings of the African Centre for Biosafety (2012) that AGRA's financing in the form of grants, loans and equity for production resulted in the rapid indebtedness of farmers, especially where not all elements of a

high-output system are in place to ensure adequate income to pay off debts (African Centre for Biosafety 2012). It is a risky strategy for most farmers to enter into debt unless they are going to engage in sustained commercial production with clearly identified markets, and even pre-existing contracts for their products (ibid). This is what is discouraging most smallholder farmers from accessing such funds. Notwithstanding AGRA's claims to be targeting the poorest of Africa's farmers, a commercial financing strategy will always only target small elite (ibid).

In summary, addressing smallholder farmers' access to finance and markets is necessary but not sufficient to ensure increased productivity growth under rain-fed conditions. For the most part, AGRA has, in a way, responded to the problem of poor crop yields by linking smallholder farmers to different sources of funding and investment, paying little or no attention to the harsh conditions under which the farmers have to produce food. Evidence so far suggests that high interest rates and other conditions ensure that smallholder farmers stay away from these sources of finance.

6.5 Gender Roles and Access to AGRA Interventions

The issue of gender is very vital in the discussion of AGRA. Satyavathi et al. (2010: 442) argue that by systematically refusing to discuss gender roles in the Green Revolution, women were rendered 'invisible farmers'. Sobha (2007) details the extent to which, as a result of Green Revolution activities, women have borne an uneven physical burden of the consequences, and Patel (2012) argues that if the Green Revolution succeeds, through analytical obfuscation in accepting terms like 'small farmer', perhaps its most potent naturalization lies in the unit of analysis used

in its discourse: the household. In ceding analytical ground to the terms presented by those supportive of AGRA, one of the most fundamental losses is the ability to analyse the relations of social and collective reproduction as opined by Patel.

Women in Ghana continue to face enormous obstacles: according to a World Bank report, women farmers are disadvantaged compared to their male counterparts in many ways, including their access to financial services, access to education and training facilities and representation at the policy making and implementation levels (Brenton et al. 2013). Politically, men dominate the local political structures; men also dominate the village development organisations, such as Village Development Committees. Nevertheless, a few women, due to their status in the social hierarchy either as chiefs' wives or as successful traders (‘*magagias*’), have access to the labour of other women and young girls to support them in both their domestic and productive activities (Kyei 2000). Table 6.2 shows how gender in this part of the world is perceived.

Table 6.2: Gender Roles in the Northern Region

CATEGORY OFACTIVITY	MALES	FEMALES
Domestic Activities	Serve as fatherly figures of the home, responsible for the upkeep of household and so many others.	Majorly seen as child bearers, primary care givers in the home, rendering catering services for family, fetching water and firewood, helping to process the husband's produce and sometimes responsible for the sale of the husband's produce, selling food crops, etc.
Smallholding/Farming	Acquiring farmlands, tilting, raising yam mounds, weeding transplanting, harvesting and several others.	Responsible for planting, weeding, fertilizer application, harvesting, transportation to market centres, and marketing of the produce.
Communal Undertakings	Men as figureheads in most communities, mostly spearhead the celebration of social and religious festivals, for example, sacrifice to gods and performing traditional rites	A wife is by tradition is under obligation to help her husband or community in times of need and they tend to respond to this by abandoning their own farms/business

Source: Author's fieldwork (2014).

Women play an important role in the agricultural value chain. As seen in the table above, women are generally recognized as processors of food for household consumption, household income and livelihood as observed from field visits. Studies have also shown that the number of female-headed households, where women have become the sole breadwinners for their family, either as a result of divorce, death of a spouse, or sheer neglect, is increasing. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2014), the share of female-headed households constitutes nearly 30% of the total households in the country whilst in the rural Northern Region only 16.4% of households are female-headed. The extent to which women are able to deal with these dynamics effectively and provide for the family's needs is highly dependent on their access to, control over and ownership of productive resources, particularly land.

Unfortunately, women's access to and control over land and resources has remained limited mainly due to the unfavourable socio-cultural factors that underpin customary land arrangements. This coupled with the nature of social organization and community leadership, limits women's participation in public discussion and decision-making on land. The Social Watch (2005) argues that women are at a greater risk of poverty because they have relatively limited material assets and also more limited social assets. The consequences of this disparity persist throughout a woman's entire life in diverse forms and in different areas and social structures (ibid). It is on the basis of these that this study believes the limitations placed on women by the division of labour by sex and the social hierarchies should be at the centre of AGRA's quest to reduce poverty. One of the research participants in this study had the following to say regarding the role of women in general:

> *Women are supposed to carry out household chores and childbirth. Is that not it, officer? Where you are coming from, is it not the same practice? I know you are one of us and you should [know] that men dominate in every facet of our lives* (An account of an interviewee, 27/07/2014).

Despite the central role of women in agricultural production and despite Kofi Annan, the former chairman of AGRA, declaring that *women are on the frontlines* of AGRA's initiatives, gender is not an explicit focus on AGRA's activities nor is it included among the eight priority areas (Negin et al. 2009). AGRA's website does note that 'individual farmers, women's associations and farmer unions are key partners', but a greater direct focus on women's access to agricultural inputs is absent. In terms of accesses to AGRA programmes, data from Cheshe and Dungu revealed that men are better placed than women to use land because of the patrilineal system, which

confers power on males by the lineage authority in every family. AGRA does not also deem it necessary to develop or set aside separate programmes that will alleviate the burden of this group of vulnerable people in the society, especially women. Notwithstanding the many failures of AGRA in terms of women's empowerment, AGRA has only recently funded the Ghana Land Policy Action Node to sensitize women and smallholder farmers in four selected traditional areas in the Northern Region as mentioned in chapter five.

The following question was put to all AGRA interviewees about whether or not AGRA has in place separate programmes that seek to support women, who are the most vulnerable group of people in the Northern Region: Do you specifically support or have different packages for vulnerable groups such as women, disabled, etc.? All of the AGRA participants said there was nothing of the sort, but Dr Abuabakari Toure elaborates further:

> *We don't discriminate. We develop our proposal to meet all kinds of people because we don't discriminate. We make sure that the strategies or programmes we develop conform to local issues that benefit all* (Interview with Dr Abuabakari Toure, Accra, 30/06/2014).

It is being revealed that indeed, AGRA has formed farmer associations in Cheshe without recourse to gender sensitivity. An Assemblyman for the Cheshe electoral area noted, with a sense of urgency and uneasiness:

> *Apart from the Kpaman Farmers Association, there about three others and these are made up of women's associations. I was thinking AGRA would have thought it wise to make use of these existing women groups, but nothing of*

> *that sort happened. The other day two of the AGRA officials came here and wrote down names of farmers for a new group; only rice and soya beans farmers association, their attention was drawn to the existence of the women's associations, but didn't heed that call* (interview with Danladi Ahmed, Cheshe, 23/07/ 2014).

This revelation conforms to Chamberlin's (2015) deductions that smallholder farmers, the majority of whom are women, lagged behind large farmers in adopting Green Revolution technologies and were often excluded from technology-based agriculture, leading to their marginalisation. As a result of the seeming lack of adequate attention paid to women and other vulnerable in the Northern Region, this study, like many others, argues that empowering women through agriculture has the potential to have cascading effects through households and communities due to women's roles as managers of daily life, including health, education and market activity. Increasing assets in the hands of women tend to lead to greater spending on education and child welfare (Oniang'o and Mukudi 2002). AGRA's inability to pay much attention to women's groups and other people with disabilities gravely affects their quest to increase agricultural productivity, a necessary fulcrum for poverty reduction.

Based on the findings of the previous analysis, this study concludes that women should be encouraged to participate fully in AGRA activities, especially through formal associations. This will not only encourage more women to come on board, but will have substantial benefits for the social and economic development of the many deprived communities in the Northern Region, thus accelerating the ultimate goal of a rural transformation (Oniang'o and Mukudi 2002).

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a discussion of AGRA as a case study organisation, specifically, its activities in the Northern Region of Ghana. The findings have been explained using the available literature in line with the conceptual framework of this thesis. The chapter discussed specific activities of AGRA in the Northern Region to attain its goals. It was further broken down under four main sections, namely: an understanding of AGRA's commitment to meeting the needs of smallholder farmers through FBOs; the use of improved seeds and chemical fertilizer for improving yields; issues with smallholder farmers' access to market and finance; and a discussion of gender roles and access to AGRA interventions.

It is evidently clear that the efforts of AGRA are still limited to a very small segment of the societies it operates in terms of the number of people the organisation is able to reach out to. Also, it can be said from the fieldwork data that many farmers believe that the contribution of AGRA to their farming in terms of yield increases is very negligible, particularly; smallholder farmers' inability to afford seeds, chemical fertilizer and other inputs, despite the subsidies that came with many of these inputs. These findings align with Hussain and colleagues' (2011) deduction that South Asian women have a mirage of challenges to overcome in access to external finance more than their male counterparts. This vindicates Michael Edwards' argument that spikes in philanthropic giving have always accompanied inflection points in the trajectory of capitalism, including financial recessions and the rapid growth of inequality – which threaten the stability of the system (Edwards 2015). Similarly, Notwithstanding, AGRA has been progressing through the concerted effort of the BMGF, motivated by the ideals of neo-liberalism, the United States government, recipient governments,

and the World Bank in ways that ensured accumulation for the promotion of hegemony within countries in receipt of the package of technologies and subsidies.

In the following chapter, I argue that, apart from addressing the broad issues of neo-liberalism and hegemony agenda, the BMGF can, through AGRA, widen the scope of funding operations, dealing with the real issues such as making inputs available at affordable prices and giving greater attention to irrigation farming. Also, smallholder farmers have to be put at the centre of development and their needs put at the centre of the ‘revolution’ for poverty reduction, philanthropists ought to show respect for local knowledge and capacities, and social accountability to the common poor people. The next chapter presents discussions on, the state, philanthropy, smallholder farmers and development.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE STATE, PHILANTHROPY, SMALLHOLDER FARMERS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the multiplicity of ways stakeholders and smallholder farmers understand philanthropy in the Northern Region and in Ghana as a whole. It demonstrates three important propositions in which the phenomenon of philanthropy is understood and defined by stakeholders and smallholder farmers. The chapter presents the various smallholder farmers define philanthropy, agencies of support, sources of knowledge and advocacy, institutions that provide logistics, technology and public goods. It then discusses how government agencies view philanthropy as well as the perception of philanthropy by local organizations in partnership with AGRA.

In outlining the key findings of how these groups perceive philanthropy, the chapter questions the assumption that assistance delivered through philanthropic activities can fulfil the state's responsibility in terms of poverty reduction and transformation in rural areas. It also questions whether partnerships between the state and institutions that are not democratically elected and do not fit within a robust accountability framework can fulfil this remit (Morvaridi 2013).

As mentioned in chapter one, focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews were used to collect data on perceptions of philanthropy from farmers living in the poor rural villages of Cheshe and Dungu. Invariably, this constitutes a subjective approach to the understanding of philanthropy, as the people are allowed

to define what philanthropy is. Again, focus group discussions allowed the researcher to gather the general views, emotions, feelings and beliefs of interviewees.

7.2 Government Organizations' Perceptions of Philanthropy

This section discusses the understanding, awareness and appreciation of philanthropy by government representatives and how this understanding impacts the government's ability to effectively attract philanthropic resources towards the poverty reduction agenda of the government and their perspectives on the performance of philanthropy in Ghana. This is necessary because the understanding of philanthropy determines the kind of relationship that exists between both philanthropic practitioners and the government. In Ghana, despite the government's inability to develop a compressive policy framework for philanthropy, nonetheless, the government considers philanthropy a significant medium for development and poverty reduction, as argued in the Ghana Aid Policy and Strategy (see section 3.5.1). The Deputy Minister for Finance and Economic Planning, Ms Mona Quartey, in acknowledging the role of philanthropy and foundations in development, writes:

> *The world duly recognizes the need for enhanced collaboration amongst all stakeholders. With a projected annual spending of between $3 and $5 billion, it is clear that philanthropic organizations are engaging development work, whether aligned or not. Compared to the OECD-DAC's ODA, which in the past few years has been slightly more than $100 billion, $3 to $5 billion seems less significant. More importantly, we must recognize that funding and financial support is not the only added quality from Philanthropic*

> *organizations. Foundations, as development actors, have other important qualities. Indeed, Philanthropic actors have important comparative advantages over other development finance providers* (UNDP 2015b :3).

This renewed appreciation of the role of philanthropy, as clearly spelled out by the deputy minister, has largely been influenced by the events of the past few years, especially the amplifying voice and actions of the United Nations and the World Bank following the inception of the Post-2015 Partnership Platform for Philanthropy in 2014. Just as Quartey adopts official statistics to back her argument that philanthropic actors have important comparative advantages over other development finance providers, Martin (2011) argues that the Melinda and Bill Gates Foundation's budget of US $3.8bn in 2009, which was only slightly smaller than the World Health Organization's budget of US$5bn, is the reason why the new philanthropy will displace other sources of development finance. Building on Quartey's view of philanthropy, I will focus on a detailed interview account of Ahmed Tijani, a senior official of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA) who works as Regional Administrator for the Northern Region to further scrutinize how the government's understanding of philanthropy impacts its ability to effectively attract philanthropic resources towards the poverty reduction agenda of the government.

Interview with Ahmed Tijani, 57, Male, Northern Region Agricultural Development Administrator, MOFA

> *Yes, we are collaborating with philanthropic organisations to help the farmers achieve food security. I see philanthropy to be any body or organisation that is in a position to assist us. Our mandate is to make sure that the farmers practice new and better method of farming and also do animal husbandry.*

Among other things, AGRA for example, supports government agricultural extension officers through the provision of cinema vans to visit farmers and shows demonstrative programmes aimed at teaching them modern techniques of farming. They also provide input to some disabled farmers and we are open to people who want to help farmers. In addition to that, they also link the farmers to market agencies and input dealers to purchase at subsidised prices. From our point of view, philanthropy is getting all manner of help from development institutions free of charge to be able to carry out our mandate; they will, it will help them get storage. The major challenge here is the fact that the villages use footpaths to travel to their farms on bicycles and motorbikes, however, not all of them have motorbikes to go to the farm. Other issues have to do with transportation, tractors and the donkeys bring them to the district storage centres. This practice, if you ask me, I will say farmers should not be made to pass through this kind of ordeal in transporting their produce; again, this is something philanthropy can do little about (Interview with Ahmed Tijani, Regional Administrator, and Tamale on 23/07/2014)

On the issue of measures being implemented by the government to attract some philanthropic resources for reducing poverty, Mr Ahmed Tijani observed that attaining self-sustained growth in all agricultural sub-sectors has to be done through the Medium Term Agricultural Sector Development Plan (METASIP 2010-2015). He explained that METASIP was the guiding policy framework, which serves as a vehicle for optimising agriculture and the integrated rural development of the structural transformation for the socioeconomic development of Ghana. Mr Ahmed Tijani revealed that smallholder farmers continue to receive resources in the form of

grants and subsidies inputs for farming to meet basic needs from what he calls ‘philanthropic givers’. When asked about the meaning of ‘philanthropic givers’, he simply retorted: ‘anything not from the ministry or government’.

Mr Ahmed Tijani was, however, quick to point out that the provision of subsidised improved seeds and chemical fertilizer by AGRA and allies may seem a lot to AGRA, but this act is only a drop in the ocean compared to the myriad of problems that smallholder farmers are bedevilled with. According to him, making a meaningful impact in improving agriculture and integrated rural development goes beyond merely making seeds and inputs available, which are not even affordable anyway. Quite clearly, Tijani’s reservation reinforces Bartlett’s (2012) assertion that social, economic and political factors surrounding rural communities are as important to address as the specific technical issues, and not peripheral issues such as providing improved seeds and access to chemical fertilizers. And the over reliance on top-down 'experts' and supplies of inputs, reinforces in the minds of Ghanaian farmers that what they lack is more important than what they have. It dis-empowers them and makes them dependent on suppliers. The transcripts of an interview with Apullah Patrick, Director of Savannah Seeds Services (SSS) reinforced the concern expressed by the Northern Region Agricultural Development Administrator in saying:

> *We produce seeds of cereals and legumes to make them available for the poor farmers in the Northern Regions. The objectives set was to make available seeds for the farmers and carry out on farm demonstrations for farmers to learn the benefits of improved seeds. On the other hand, the patronage is very low because farmers prefer to select seeds from the previous harvest for replanting, and, I do not blame them, if I am asked to*

choose between selecting seedlings from my own harvest and selling some few items to be able to purchase improved seeds, I will obviously go for the latter. I'm not surprised that since my involvement in the production of seeds, only 8% of my produce has been used by farmers (Interview with Apullah Patrick, 27/07/2014).

The Savannah Seeds Services (SSS), one of the ten private companies as discussed in chapter five, produces and sell seeds in the Northern Region. The company won a two-year grant worth $149,973 from AGRA to produce and sell 850 metric tons of High Yielding Varieties (HYV) seeds, consisting of maize, soybeans, rice and groundnuts to 9,200 smaller holder farmers in 45 districts in the Northern Region at a subsidised price of 50% of the market price. However, the above interview indicates a low patronage (8%) of the HYV seeds produced. This is contrary to the claim by AGRA that the adoption rates of HYV seeds in the Northern Region are around 30% (AGRA 2014).

The next section discusses the views of organisations in partnership with AGRA before highlighting how smallholder farmers perceive philanthropy in the Northern Region.

7.3 Perception of Philanthropy by Local Organizations in Partnership with AGRA

In this section, I focused on the account of locally based organisations in partnership with AGRA as explained in section 6.3 to find out the extent to which their organisations as development actors perceive philanthropy. I demonstrate that,

locally based organisations view themselves as being philanthropic organisations and therefore want to be termed as 'philanthropic partners' since, in their view, philanthropy is 'mission-driven' and can only be effectively pursued through collaborative efforts.

Regardless of the perspectives of these organisations on issues concerning the significance of philanthropy, all the interviewees from locally-based organisations in this study have indicated that they considered themselves as fighting for the rights of the poor to basic services, which in itself is a philanthropic motivation. Interviewees also indicated with a passion that poverty reduction was basically the main reason most organizations have been operating in the region to ensure that the plight of the underprivileged is adequately addressed (Bawa 2007). When asked about what her views of philanthropy are, the director of the International Fertilizer Development Centre, an AGRA-partner organisation (IDFC) notes:

> *Philanthropy and local NGOs have one common aim, which is to promote the developmental agenda of the world. This is what we do, and we love doing it. I know AGRA is being funded by Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and other philanthropic resources; we also receive grants and funding from philanthropic funds. The main aim of assessing development assistance difference between local NGOs and philanthropic organisations is that, you have is to promote social change. Local NGOs get funding from different sources, including philanthropic foundation to implement on their behalf or base on the objectives of the funds. Since most of the charitable work and awareness projects are run by local organisations in Ghana, I believe the importance and*

> *meaning of philanthropy are primarily to fight inequality in our societies* (Interview with Ohene Ampofo Afua, Tamale, 14/06/2014).

On the part of the Project Manager for the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA),

> *The whole idea of philanthropy consists of a set of actions, event or engagement that is done to better humanity and usually involves some sacrifice as opposed to being done for a profit motive. Acts of philanthropy include contributing resources towards addressing the needs of people. Raising money to donate to people who are affected by natural disasters, we at ADRA do all these. Our mission statement which states; ADRA works with people in poverty and distress to create just and positive change through empowering partnerships and responsible actions, is the key to what we do. ADRA says the reason for its existence is 'to follow Christ's example by being a voice for, serving, and partnering with those in need'. This alone should tell you that we are equally a philanthropic organisation* (Interview with Richard Boadu, Tamale, 17/06/2014).

In terms of having the resources to improve the conditions of smallholder farmers in the area who are involved in smallholder farming, when questioned about what policy strategy they were implementing to marshal the needed resources in order to help increase crop yields for farmers, the interviewees stated that they contribute to the welfare of farmers in a variety of ways which benefit smallholder farmers of the Northern Region. For instance, as part of measures aimed at improving productivity among farming households, ADRA, AGRA, and SARI in one way or the other have

provided Cheshe and Dungu with agricultural extension services, clean drinking water, afforestation projects and credit facilities. However, these actions listed by the three organisations have the tendency to cure symptoms rather than tackling the underlying causes of poverty among these rural dwellers (Bartlett 2012).

Local organisations working closely with smallholder farmers have similar perceptions of government. It also emerged that most interviewees perceived philanthropy as their core objective. For example, ADRA's key objectives are providing food and water, establishing livelihoods and protecting the vulnerable. This implies that the perception of philanthropy by ADRA and the manner in which that organisation pursues its core duties are based on the key objectives of the organisation. In line with this, the next part of this chapter is concerned with attempts by smallholder farmers to explain their understanding of philanthropy.

7.4 Smallholder Farmers' Perceptions of Philanthropy

In this section, I analyse how smallholder farmers conceive philanthropy and how their appreciation of philanthropy affects their ability to reap philanthropic resources in the region. As Bourdieu (1998) explains, even though human beings can be regarded as agents who can exercise their reflections, their thinking styles, habits and actions are strongly influenced by collective tastes and values. These are peculiar to people's positions, such as their occupations, incomes, and educational and cultural backgrounds. Bourdieu, in discussing collective tastes and values, uses the term 'habits'. Habits influence people's thoughts and perceptions. Hence, this section relies on Bourdieu's 'habits', which have an influence on people's thoughts and perceptions in discussing smallholder farmers' understanding of philanthropy.

Data from this study revealed that the perceptions and understandings of philanthropy in the Northern Region were varied; this study revealed that interviewees, in explaining their understanding of philanthropy, also reflected in a wide and well-established understanding of available developmental interventions and information about the poverty reduction mechanisms directed at poor people. Apart from AGRA, other organisations were mentioned as performing functions that seek to support smallholder farmers. Interviewees revealed in Cheshe, for example, where AGRA recipients exist, that their conception of philanthropy was formed based on personal experiences. During a series of engagements with interviewees, specific questions and follow-up questions were asked through focus group discussions to elicit their understanding of philanthropy and what the term 'philanthropy' means to them. They were then asked follow-up questions regarding their knowledge about AGRA, and what they think were the benefits of such a supportive organisation. According to the analysis of the data, philanthropy, in the opinions of smallholder farmers means: (i) support agencies; (ii) institutions that divert government packages for farmers; (iii) sources of knowledge and Information dissemination; and (iv) an enhanced infrastructure development.

7.4.1 Agencies of Support

According to Arboleda et al (2004: 23), 'the voices of the poor communicate their experience, and keep drawing the reader's attention back to their lives'. A cross-section of the interviewees, when asked about what they knew about philanthropy, retorted that philanthropic organisations are *agencies of support*. In this regard, they see AGRA and partner organisations with a presence in the area as agencies that have the wherewithal to help them achieve their goals. In other words, farmers are

used to getting help and to getting things for free; as a result, many believe that they should always be supported, hence the conception of philanthropy as support agencies. One reason that could account for this view is the fact that other non-philanthropic bodies are currently on the ground more than the traditional philanthropic foundations as epitomized in the interview below of a 43-year-old poor farmer from Dungu who can only boast of an acre of land due to a disability:

> *It is an organisation that deals with farming; they support our group to farm maize and soya beans. Also, some of our colleagues who can afford tractor services have been linked to those services by AGRA and others. They train some of our people through workshops on how to apply modern techniques of farming. They also provide schools with equipment* (Interview with Azuma Lamin, Dungu, on 26/07/2014).

Others reinforced Lamin's views on philanthropy as organisations that offer farming support. Farmers especially stressed the need for philanthropic support to cover a large segment of their communities since, more often than not, only a few farmers benefit from such support.

Mr Lamin's example suggests that smallholder farmers' view of philanthropy is based on the kind of support they receive in aid of their farming. In addition, interviews with smallholder farmers revealed that the proliferation of many NGOs in the region also played a significant role in the manner in which philanthropy is conceived. Annemarie (2011) observed that the understating of philanthropy as an agency of support by smallholder farmers has to do with cultural mind-sets. The argument of Annemarie stems from the fact that in Ghana most rural dwellers and smallholder farmers have been introduced to foreign and developmental aid for so many years,

from both local and international organisations. As a result, the act of receiving support has become part of the developmental agenda of many local authorities.

Although philanthropy[8] has been perceived as support rendering institutions, majority the farmers that I interviewed informally pointed out that support emanating from all organisations working in the region was not enough to address half their farming requirements. Again, these views expressed here have similar undertones to the ones expressed by both government and local organisations.

7.4.2 Sources of Knowledge and Advocacy

Advocacy is the attempt of individuals, groups, and organizations to influence social and political outcomes in government, corporations, and society (Reid 2000). The use of advocacy often involves helping to frame issues, providing information, pressuring officials, and bringing to the table the voices of underrepresented and marginalized groups. Interviews with both AGRA recipients and non-recipients indicated that their perspectives on philanthropy is not just limited to agencies of support, but also deem philanthropy as a source of knowledge and advocacy. Smallholder farmers were aware of the information dissemination platform that AGRA has created for the purposes of educating farmers on most up-to-date information on how to grow food efficiently and economically. The following extracts suggest AGRA's Integrated Soil Fertility Management (ISFM) programme being implemented by the Savanna Agricultural Research Institute of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR-SARI) in some communities has hugely shaped the opinions of many about what constitute philanthropy. Here is an account

[8] It is important to note that philanthropy as used here refers to civil society, NGOs and other faith base organisations, according to the perspectives of smallholder farmers in the Northern Region support.

of Osman Powers. Osman is a ‘Malam’, otherwise known as an Islamic spiritualist, who is originally from Burkina Faso, but has lived in the Cheshe village from around 1981 with his two wives and nine children. He describes his understanding of philanthropy as:

> *Organisations that move from community to community to carry out video shows to educate farmers. Radio and TV documentaries and the distribution of leaflets on how to use fertilizer and composting I witnessed one of the shows and It has improved my understanding of farming; their coming has brought a lot of education to us because some individuals have applied their techniques of composting and received mixed results* (interview with Osman Powers, Cheshe, 23/07/2014).

Perhaps more importantly than placing emphasis on ISFM programme as a source of knowledge and advocacy, the following comments build on Osman’s view of philanthropy as organisations that move from community to community to educate farmers:

> *The ‘philanthropy’ (philanthropic) organisations do organise dialogues through workshops where new information on new approaches to farming are explained to us. I believe we need access to good quality advice and information to make decisions about what to produce and how to build a more viable and sustainable enterprise* (Interview with Basit Ruhia, Dungu, 21/06/2014).

When asked whether or not the entire community that he belongs benefited from this kind of information leading to improvement in their farming mechanisms, her tone changed:

Ahhh . . . how can that be possible? In situations like this it's always the few educated ones amongst us who get the opportunity to attend. Only few people are always chosen (Interview with Basit Ruhia, Dungu, 21/06/2014).

The above statement shows the kind of value people in this area attach to information and education. The understanding of philanthropy as a source of knowledge and information dissemination was particularly strong in Cheshe; the reason being that, they have had the benefits of participating in on-farm demonstrations which serve as extension education tools for farmers. Servaes (1992) has argued that most organisations in development have continuously resorted to the use of advocacy and communication for creating awareness, generating public interest and demand, placing issues on the public agenda and building social support. Although philanthropy is viewed as sources of knowledge and advocacy, AGRA's ISFM practices are less advantageous schemes. And what is more, despite their rhetoric of choice and site specificity, they apply them as a package in a hegemonic fashion that means the approach as a whole does not meet all farmers' needs (Bellwood-Howard 2014).

7.4.3 Institutions that Provide Logistics, Technology and Public Goods

Smallholder farmers also associate philanthropy with institutions that provide logistics to farmers to aid farming at the grassroots level. References were made to the farm produce collection centre constructed and equipped with concrete floors for the threshing and drying of cereals in Cheshe by AGRA. Other logistics such as tarpaulins, scales, sack-stitching machines and pallets have been mentioned.

According to 41-year-old Aminata Saaka from Dungu, married with seven children and unable to feed her household,

> *These days, there is really nothing for free*. *I heard about the distributions of tarpaulins, scales and sack-stitching machines at the centre, and so, I went there to ask about it, I was told to pay GH₵ 50 through the group leader for SARI/AGRA Farmers Network for the use of these items in the centre, which I could not afford. Also, the threshing machines in the centre can only be used to thresh produce from the SARI/AGRA Farmers Network free of charge, but other members of the public, including the members of the group farm, are permitted to hire it to thresh their crops if they pay a cost that I cannot recollect now* (interview with Aminata Saaka Iddrisu, Dungu 23/07/2014).

> *Philanthropy in this area is not only about getting free goodies from institutions… It is related how these institutions construct roads, schools and hospitals in local communities. Philanthropy is simply about creating opportunities for others who are so deprived* (Participants, Focus Group).

The concern with lack of access to AGRA's inputs and the produce collection centre, due to unaffordability and the headache of joining a group in order to have access, were consistently mentioned during focus group discussions (FGD). This aligns with the findings of the GRAIN (2007), as discussed in chapter four, that in Kenya, to show how AGRA's 'market-smart subsidies' work in practice, farmers were provided with US $92 to purchase fertilisers, seeds and pesticides. And in order to make sure farmers are consistent in their purchases (to keep the agro-dealer network alive), farmers are told they must join groups and a village co-ordinator ensures their crops

are sold and the money earned is used to buy inputs for the next season (farmers are required to pay the co-ordinator). This kind of arrangement is rather limiting the choices that ought to be made available to farmers: choices about what crops to grow or which inputs to use, the loss of their traditional knowledge (which is not applicable in this situation), and their inability to respond to changes in their environment (GRAIN 2007).

As discussed above, AGRA is seeking to help smallholder farmers to adopt modern techniques of farming through the use of technology and the provision of logistics. Technology is important, but must be accessible to many in order to have a meaningful impact. This argument supports Patel's (2012) observation that the Green Revolution's portrayed as a story about technological triumph over hunger is already mythological – it has largely written out the supporting role of the state and other organisations, ignores the creation of new landless and therefore hungrier poor people, and ignores the question of whether increased yields led to reduced hunger.

Associating philanthropy with criminal behaviour is what the next section discusses. About half of interviewees believe that AGRA is an organisation that generally lacks regard for the welfare of smallholder farmers because it prioritises the welfare of its partner organisations to the detriment the final recipients (smallholder farmers).
There have been other instances where perception of philanthropy was based on how well informed some farmers are in terms of education and not just because of a particular kind of support received. In an interview with Mr Azimdoo Salisu, he narrated his understanding of philanthropy based on his own research on it. But it was difficult getting respondents within the two villages who were as educated as Azimdoo Salisu, due to the fact most Ghanaian crop farmers have had no formal

education, and farm with relatively unproductive local farming implements like a cutlass, hoe and other traditional farm implements.

Interview with Azimdoo Salisu, 51 years, Male and a Unite Committee Representative

Salisu is a native of the Dundu and had completed basic and sixth form education at Sakaka Primary and Tamale government school, now known as the Tamale Senior High School respectively. Salisu is married with two wives and thirteen children. He has been living in Dungu upon the completion of Sixth Form since 1979 and currently involved in farming activities. He owns six hectares of land (1 hectare of rice, 2 hectares of maize and 3 hectares of yam), which he inherited from his late father. Apart from farming, he also represents Dungu at the local assembly as a member of the Dungu electoral area. According to Salisu, philanthropy involves time and resources. Salisu read a lot about modern day philanthropy and came to the conclusion that the term 'philanthropy' is also used to describe the granting of money to non-profit organizations by foundations and corporations citing AGRA and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation as a classic example. He believes philanthropy to be the appreciation of a common cause (often addressing a social problem), organization, or person(s) demonstrated by the giving of time, talent, goods, services, or money. Often, the beneficiaries of such giving are local NGOs that exist for the public good.

It is clear from the explanation of Salisu that though most of the smallholder farmers merely ascribe the meaning of philanthropy to the nature of logistics or support received. Salisu, who has not received any kind of support from any organisation,

however, gave a vivid account of philanthropy on the basis of the information available to him. Salifu's definition and descriptions of philanthropy aptly suit most academic definitions of philanthropy, including those of the other AGRA recipient farmers**.** Salifu revealed that apart from his previous knowledge of philanthropy, he also took it upon himself to do a bit of research upon hearing that I would be visiting their community. Salisu's example confirms Parvan's (2011) observation that farmers who have acquired higher education are able to appreciate the significance of information and are likely to learn new skills and adopt new technologies earlier than other farmers with lower educational levels, and adopt inputs that make them more productive.

7.4.4 Institutions that Divert Government Packages for Farmers

In both Cheshe and Dungu, farmers claim that their working relations with AGRA partnered organisations has, in recent times, become bedevilled with serious conflicts and suspicion due to the nefarious activities of some of the officials. For instance, they blame the rising costs of fertilizer, the inability to get subsidised seedlings and the untimely release of inputs on corrupt officialdom. Many projects initiated and supported by AGRA, for example, fail to deliver expected results due to pervasive corruption, especially the embezzlement of funds. AGRA funded programs are often poorly implemented: corruption is present, and the misuse of funds occurs, as revealed by the farmers interviewed. The following two quotes exemplify a common understanding expressed in the interview conversations that philanthropy represents institutions that that divert government packages for farmers. Farmers raised concerns regarding the corrupt acts of their benefactor organisations:

Farmers should be allowed to form their own associations, and elect leaders to perform tasks on our behalf. This will prevent the leaders of AGRA from diverting resources that are meant to be ours. I'm saying this because we do know that these organisations (SARI/AGRA) *are not always truthful with us: when they offer resources to invest in us, they rather divert such for personal gains. Only God knows the number of times they have been in this community for our name, but nothing comes out of it. This is why I don't trust them* (Interview with Mrs. Asanatu Fuseini, Dungu, 21/06/2014).

There's information out there that some organisations have been given coupons for distribution to this community that will enable us to buy fertilizer and 'condemn' (an herbicide) *at low prices, but these coupons won't get to us as the case as has always been. I had heard numerous grievances and complaints from friends in this village that AGRA and local government authorities are rather the main cause of our problems, because they have allowed corrupt malpractices to cloud their judgement in their service delivery agendas. Why would AGRA give the rights to sell subsidised fertilizer to AMIDAS store, which is far away from this village? I know who the owner of that store is, it's one of the big men in the local authority* (Interview with Mr Tahir Mutawkil, Dungu, 17/06/2014).

These comments are only suggestive of the fact that community members do know when they are short-changed by corrupt officialdom (Niringiyimana 2014). This explains why some scholars like Fleishman (2007) assert that philanthropic foundations as a group demonstrate insufficient procedural legitimacy. Even staunch advocates of foundations like Fleishman recognize the need for more policing of the

non-profit sector to foster foundation legitimacy in order to avert explicit corruption within foundations. In the same way, Scherer (2011) is more concerned about the characteristics of their governance structures that allow and even encourage trustees to undertake top-down projects that intentionally promote cultural imperialism. Besides, AGRA and the Gates Foundation have suffered a lack of accountability, both internally, as its board of trustees is unelected and is responsible only itself rather than their subjects, and externally, as watchdog organizations have a limited (albeit growing) say in their legal privileges (ibid).

Consequently, the notion that AGRA's vision can only be achieved through strong partnerships with many actors at all levels—governments, regional institutions, development partners, technical institutions, the private sector, civil society, and most importantly NGOs is very flawed. During the fieldwork, a director of a company that has won grants from AGRA in the past narrated to me during an informal conversation how lucrative the partnership with his organisation and AGRA is. According to him:

> *AGRA funds are meant for specific projects. The good thing about grants obtained from such sponsors is that you determine how much of that can be used to execute the project and the rest goes into your private pocket. The sponsors are not on the ground, but we are, and whatever we put in our reports they believe it. I was working with an organisation xyz but I resigned and established this company upon realising and seeing how others were making it big in this field* (Interview with Dirctor B, Tamale, and 22/07/2014).

It is intriguing to note that some of these local organisations, instead of accounting to the people they represent, are rather accountable for their 'personal pockets' first

and foremost before thinking about the welfare of their benefactor donors, as the account of the interviewee reveals. This confirms the deep-seated corruption that is associated with many philanthropic and aid driven organisations in Ghana. One wonders why, in the midst of the many poverty interventionist organisations working for poverty reduction in the Northern Region, and yet the economy in that part of the country is still third from the bottom, beating only the Upper East and West Regions. Corruption among many of these organisations is definitely one of the reasons. The above interview with Mrs Asanatu Fuseini and Mr Tahir Mutawkil illustrate clear cases of corruption. Therefore, the tag given by farmers in reference to AGRA for example, as organisations that divert resources meant for their welfare is not far from the truth.

The findings also suggest that smallholder farmers understand philanthropy with a multidimensional viewpoint. Similarly, it emerged that most smallholder farmers, especially AGRA recipients, perceive philanthropy based on the kind of assistance received from AGRA. This confirms my earlier argument that the conception of philanthropy has to do with practical experiences.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the Ghana Aid Policy and Strategy as well as how government interviewees and those of local organisations in partnership with AGRA, perceive philanthropy. In particular, it focused on smallholder farmers' perceptions and understandings of the role of philanthropy in reducing poverty in the NR, from which a conclusion may be drawn. The chapter also relates to the views of the socioeconomic opportunities created by philanthropy. Among other meanings

attributed to philanthropy by these farmers include: agencies of support, farming organisations of empowerment, institutions that that divert government packages for farmers, sources of knowledge and information dissemination, and enhanced infrastructure development and public goods.

Despite diverging opinions over how philanthropy should be conceived, there was evidence to suggest that philanthropy has a direct impact on the ordinary individual according to the views expressed in this chapter. However, AGRA's activities cover only a small segment of the populace and are deemed to be merely treating the symptoms of poverty. Of course, we do know that the dominant paradigm behind this line of thinking is the influence of neo-liberalism, which has led to ineffective governments reneging on their core responsibilities and ceding them to the private sector and civil society organisations.

In order for philanthropic resources to be beneficial to the generality of smallholder farmers, a lot of factors have to be brought on board, as seen from the perspectives of farmers. The failure to involve farmers in decisions that affect their livelihoods has been considered to be the major cause of many programme failures in Ghana. As pointed out in the discussion above, the provision of seeds, chemicals, fertilizer and other inputs to farmers, whether free or subsidised, is not the immediate need of smallholder farmers. Smallholder farmers need a constant supply of water and land for the poor, especially women farmers: access to land and control over their land is essential for the basic livelihood of their families. Consequently, understanding the socioeconomic dynamics in the Northern Region and amongst the farmers should be an important part of policy formulation for philanthropic involvements seeking to exploit gains, income generating ventures, and livelihood for smallholder farmers.

Lastly, the importance of an established policy framework cannot be overemphasized. A separate policy framework for philanthropy would have had a key objective of mobilising private philanthropic resources to support steady economic growth and sustainable development, thus contributing to the economic and social well-being of the people of Ghana. It would further aim to advance the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals and to help mobilise financing for development more strongly and effectively in support of the post-2015 development agenda. An existing policy framework could also provide a reference point for philanthropic foundations' poverty reduction programmes for rural development. The absence of a policy framework for philanthropy only goes to confirm the low level of seriousness attached to philanthropy by the government; this further partly contributes to the kind of perceptions people have about it.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE IMPACT OF THE NEW PHILANTHROPY ON LIVELIHOODS

8.1 Introduction

The debate on the effectiveness of philanthropic organizations in promoting rural development has been subjected to detailed discussion in chapter two. This discussion is particularly necessary given the fact that philanthropic organizations continue to struggle to actually measure their own impact (Liket 2014). Recent descriptive and qualitative studies conclude that the achievements of the philanthropic sector are at best moderate, given the fact that most philanthropic initiatives appear unable to fulfil their ambitious social transformation agendas (such as relieving world poverty or achieving universal gender equality) (Anheier and Leat 2006; Liket 2014).

Liket (2014: 27) puts it succinctly when she argues that the seeming inability of the philanthropic sector to use its unique characteristics to effectively respond to social problems presents the world with a paradox. There is a growing body of global philanthropic action, a lot of ‘doing good’. However, all this ‘doing good’ seems to largely fail to effectively solve social problems. In other words, this ‘doing good’ does not seem to be good enough (ibid).

This chapter reflects on how philanthropic activities relate to more conventional practices of rural development, relying on Bourdieu’s (1998) social theory of practice to examine the impact of the new philanthropy on rural livelihoods. The most central argument in this chapter is that Bourdieu’s social theory offers a broader way to

overcome the limitations of the mainstream study of livelihoods and that it paves the way for a more critical view of philanthropy, recognising the role of power and politics in delivering social goods. Bourdieu's theory also perceives the roots of poverty and livelihood constraints to be situated in the fundamental structures of societies, which are difficult to be tackled, by philanthropy and philanthropic organisations.

The next section focuses on the contribution of agricultural inputs to smallholder farmer's livelihoods in the Northern Region of Ghana. Specifically, the ensuing discussions interrogate the core concept of agricultural inputs and smallholder farmers' accessibility and affordability of agricultural inputs for enabling livelihoods.

8.2 The Contribution of Agricultural Inputs to Smallholder Farmers' Livelihoods in the Northern Region

This research, as previously discussed, is able to adequately analyse the situation due to the fact that it employs a comparative case study approach, comparing the livelihood situations of two villages. It drew on what smallholder farmers in Cheshe (Cheshe is the village receiving support from AGRA) have received in terms of agricultural inputs AGRA; the constraints they face; and their own reflections on the impacts brought about by receiving these inputs. The benefit of this approach is that it enables outsiders to identify the livelihood impacts that seem to be of most importance to smallholder farmers themselves (Kareithi 2004). In lieu of this, this section discusses the types of inputs that smallholder farmers in the Northern Region receive, the impacts that these agricultural inputs have on the yields of smallholder farmers, how agricultural inputs hinder livelihood goals, and policies that would make

philanthropy to contribute more to the livelihoods of smallholder farmers in the Northern Region.

As discussed in chapters five and six, the Agricultural Value Chain Mentorship Project (AVCMP), jointly funded by the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and AGRA is the main flagship project of AGRA's intervention in the Northern Region. In chapter six, Figure 6.2 presents a diagrammatic representation of a framework that depicts AGRA and key allies in the AVCMP. The Ghana Agricultural Associations Business and Information Centre (GAABIC), as illustrated in that diagram, has the mandate of agro-dealer support, linking farmers to agro-dealers, ensuring fertilizer suppliers and seed producers have access to improve farm inputs. According to an AVCMP's report, GAABIC, in collaboration with Northern Region Executives of GAIDA, established 16 district GAIDA branches in the Northern Region since December 2012, serving as a conduit through which training and other support networks are channelled (AGRA 2013a).

AGRA and its allied agro-dealers do not directly distribute or give input to farmers. What they collaboratively do consists of making inputs available on the market. A lot of their actions have to do with education about the safe and correct use of agricultural inputs, and benefits of using certified seeds. The main idea is to enhance access to finance and business services to commercial as well as rural smallholder farmers, agro-dealers and actors in the up- and down-stream of value chains (soybean, rice and maize). Similarly, Odame and Muande (2011, cited in Scoones and Thompson 2011) observed that agro-dealers often receive funding from philanthropic foundations, international NGOs and governments, as well as training

and technical support, including training in business management and how to impart valuable technical knowledge onto their farmer customers.

Data from Cheshe village revealed that smallholder farmers show very little interest in activities that require them to pay money. This was the main reason behind the lack of patronage in agricultural inputs, which are not free anyway. They are used to getting things done for them for free and do not see the necessity of spending their little savings on inputs. This agrees with the argument of Mr Apollo Patrick as previously mentioned, that Agro-dealers produce seeds of cereals and legumes and make them available for the poor farmers in the Northern Regions but the patronage is very low because farmers prefer to select seeds from the previous harvest for replanting.

Comparatively, views from Dungu village were not different; data collected through interviews from Dungu equally showed that smallholder farmers demonstrate very little desire and interest in farmer based services that involve paying of money, as in the case of Cheshe. The fact that AGRA is conspicuously missing in Dungu does not mean the villagers were unaware of the existence of agro-dealers and the importance of agricultural inputs. Some smallholder farmers though have not been supported by any organisation have nonetheless reported have purchased agricultural inputs in the past leading to some significant increases in yields. In an interview with a 20-year-old high school graduate, Yakubu Salifu, who is married with a child and currently live with twenty-three (23) others in an extended family household, I got the following comments regarding the contribution of agricultural inputs to smallholder farmers' livelihoods in Dungu;

> *On a daily basis, we hear on the radio about the significance of using HYV seeds. All these announcements come with detailed information as to how and where to buy these inputs so that we can multiply or triple yields, especially maize and rice. Two years ago, 'Nbee'* (brother) *Razak upon the visit of SARI to this village to educate farmers on the need to adopt these inputs decided to go to Tamale and purchase about three 'alonka' (about 1kg each alonka) of HYV seeds of maize for planting. It cost him GH¢ 7.00 per kg for hybrids and he needs 25 kg per hectare, according to the information given to us. So, in just one hectare he spends GH¢ 175* (£58)[9]*. So, instead of buying the three, he ended up buying only one due to the cost involved, meanwhile the only difference in yield per hectare between HYV and our local seeds was an additional two and a half bags per hectare (*interview with Yakubu Salifu, Dungu, 21/06/2014).

Many reported having to resort to selecting from old seeds for replanting dictated by their inability to buy agricultural inputs. Out of the thirty-five (35) interviewees from Dungu, only two farmers have reported to have ever used HYV (maize, rice and soya beans). The story in Cheshe was not very different, as only three farmers reported of using agricultural inputs in the past. The views expressed by smallholder farmers in terms of their inability to patronise agricultural inputs, particularly HYV seeds, were also supported by (Pixley and Banziger 2001). Their study also found that smallholder farmers have cited, among other things, high cost of seeds, lack of money during planting time, the need to purchase fertilizer and little or no difference

[9] Cedi is the national currency, that is, the legal tender for transacting businesses in Ghana. As at the time of conducting my fieldwork, that was 2014, the exchange rate Between British Pound sterling and Cedi was £1= GH¢ 3.2.

in yield when compared with local varieties, lack of adaptation, poor storage facilities and poor processing qualities of available hybrids as factors responsible for their inability to use HYV seeds.

These concerns have therefore raised further questions about the role of philanthropy in bringing about social transformation. As shown, the argument that combining old technological focus with a new zeal for market-based solutions through local organisations characterized by agro-dealer networks will deliver a green revolution for the people of the Northern Region can only be said to be an act of over stretching the real impact of the green revolution in improving livelihoods on a larger scale.

8.2.1 What Specific Agricultural Inputs Are Smallholder Farmers Linked to?

To be able to identify the nature and types of inputs that farmers have been linked to, I concentrated on all the AGRA-sponsored Cheshe *Kpaman Kawuni Song Farmers Based Association* (see section 6.3) in Cheshe village, who have dealt with, and are still dealing with agro-dealers in their quest to improve their livelihoods. One would have expected every member or the majority of this group to have received the various types of support offered by agro-dealers but this is not the case. Of the thirty-five, nearly half of them (16) rate the impact of inputs on their livelihoods as just one. These ratings as seen in table 8.1 below confirm the limited role of inputs on smallholder farmers' livelihoods as a result of lack access and unwillingness to patronize.

Table 8.1: Perceived Agro-dealers' Role in the Livelihood Activities of Farmers

Type of support Received	**The number of farmers benefited**	**Impact on livelihoods Rated** (On a scale of 1–10 with 10 being the most positive)	
ISFM technologies on inputs through video shows and radio broadcasts	**30**	**Farmers** **2**	**Rate** **6**
Farmer linked to agro-dealers	**15**	**13**	**4**
Inputs credit from agro-dealers	**3**	**4**	**3**
Technical Training in ISFM	**0**	**16**	**1**

Source: Interview Data

What needs to be highlighted is the fact only three out of the thirty-five benefited from being linked to inputs credit, with none of them being trained in IFM. The only category where a significant number of farmers (30) benefit has to do with video shows and radio broadcasts on ISFM technologies. As for the issue of rating, as depicted in the table, only two interviewees rated the impact of agricultural inputs as above average (6). These figures fall way below expectations, despite AGRA's claims that its proposed partnership with agro-dealers provides an opportunity for AGRA to deepen its work in seeds, soils, markets and policy work in the interest of farmers, with a special focus on the needs of smallholder farmers. AGRA argues that the partnership will specifically support integrated efforts that will promote efficient and profitable output markets for farmers, increase smallholder farmer productivity from the use of new crop technologies, provide better soil and water management, and improve security of land rights to women and other vulnerable groups (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation 2012).

Unlike the argument by Toenniessen et al. (2008), that agro-dealers have contributed significantly to the increases in crop production that have recently occurred in Malawi, this research data above proved otherwise in Ghana. Rather, the nature and modus operandi of these agro-dealers ends up driving away poorest smallholder farmers: one of such practices is the fact that one must necessarily belong to a group (see section 6.3) in order to stand a chance of receiving training or being linked to an agro-dealer. And that is only if a particular farmer has the purchasing power to do so.

This argument supports the view of the GRAIN (2007) that farmers in Kenya were told they must join groups and a village co-ordinator would ensure their crops were sold and that the money earned is used to buy inputs for the next season (farmers are required to pay the co-ordinator). GRAIN therefore laments the lack of choice farmers have about what crops to grow or which inputs to use, the loss of their traditional knowledge which is not applicable in this situation, and their inability to respond to changes in their environment (ibid). Significantly, GRAIN questions what will happen to Kenyan farmers once donor inflows and subsidies stop – the farmers will be left with degraded soils and no way to purchase inputs. The old South Asian type of Green Revolution game continues (GRAIN 2007; Kelly 2009).

In conclusion, it was evident that smallholder farmers prefer to select seeds from the previous harvest for replanting instead of buying from agro-dealers at subsidised prices. It is also shown that at the various subsidized prices the issue of affordability still lingers, for instance, sixty-three (63) of smallholder farmers interviewed said the GH¢ 80 (£ 25)[10] per 50kg bag of urea fertiliser with subsidy was still too high to

[10] Cedi is the national currency, that is, the legal tender for transacting businesses in

afford. Hence, this study is of the view that input subsidies need to be reviewed and prices reduced further, and a greater degree of choice must be given in decisions regarding inputs to smallholder farmers.

8.3 The Role of philanthropy in Creating Accessible Livelihoods Opportunities

As discussed in section 3.6.2, for smallholder farmers, access to road transportation has significant positive impact on the unit cost of transportation of agricultural products from rural villages to the urban centres. Similarly, access to reliable supply of water invariably ensures that farmers have the opportunity to farm all year round through irrigation farming. Others are; availability and the use of seeds and fertiliser could culminate in higher returns to yields. Apart from other broad generalizations of philanthropy, interviewees were asked during focus group discussions to state whether or not they believe philanthropy was doing enough to improve their livelihoods according to the aforementioned. In doing this, no statistical data was being sought, nor was there an expectation that the explanations would provide conclusive views on philanthropic role in enhancing their livelihoods. Instead, this exercise was designed to get the participants to think beyond receiving inputs and training from AGRA, for example, using themselves as references and it was believed that this self-perception would be useful in identifying some of the ways the role of philanthropy in rural livelihoods was generally thought about (Salamon 1995).

In the first of the forums, that is, male focus group one (MFG1), 10 male farmers were in attendance. All of them labelled themselves as being poor by virtue of the fact that they dwell in a deprived community and engaged in smallholder farming

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Ghana. As at the time of conducting my fieldwork, that was 2014, the exchange rate Between British Pound sterling and Cedi was £1= GH¢ 3.2.

more than any other form of employable activity. Seven out of the ten members believe philanthropy has not created employable opportunities, citing the role of AGRA for instance to back their claim. As a result of their background, they have limited opportunities to participate in social, economic, political and cultural life. An 81-year-old, Wunnam Abudu, roped in the issue of north-south migration (see section 5.4), which involves the influx of the youth of the Northern Region to the major cities in search of better conditions of livelihoods in explaining the nature of deprivation in Dungu:

> *You came at the right time. As you can see most of our kids have left us to go to the cities for 'kayaye' (head porters) and other income generating opportunities in the big cities. Those opportunities that they go seeking for are not available here. Lack of participation in income generating ventures, decision making and in local governance are the main factors responsible for us loosing for youth* (Interview with Wunnam Abudu, Dungu, 21/06/2014).

The smallholder farmers of Cheshe are not different in terms of the livelihood opportunities villagers are getting from philanthropic sources. In an interview with Mr Sumani Sheeni during the field research, he did affirm that apart from being a member of the *Cheshe Kpaman Kawuni Song Farmers Based Association*, there are no other livelihood opportunities created by philanthropic organisations in Cheshe village. The summary of the Sheeni's comments is presented as follows:

> *Has philanthropy created livelihood opportunities? Is that not what you want to know? The answers are right there in your own eyes. Take a look around, you won't find any place of work or anything that people can lay their hands on as a source of income. Tamale is not far away from here; I believe you came*

from there; the types of activities that the inhabitants of that city engage are not here. All these organizations that come here with the pretext of helping us, insisted on helping us on what we do which is farming and nothing else, so don't talk about other livelihoods openings apart from farming (Interview with Sumani Sheeni, Cheshe, 23/7/14).

There is still pervasive lack of participation in income generating ventures. These responses gave the impression that overwhelmingly; philanthropy plays an insignificant role in creating lasting employable opportunities for smallholder farmers, apart from focusing on linking smallholder farmers to inputs. Among all these, smallholder farmers believe the fact they live in the rural deprived villages accounts for the seeming low levels of literacy and educational opportunities for children in households.

Better conditions of livings were generally understood to mean having the ability to possess some material property such as motorbikes, tricycles, fertile land, a well-roofed house, farm animals and a large household capable of lending a helping hand in farming in both Cheshe and Dungu. Anybody or a household in possession of the majority of these items are considered wealthy. The ownership of movable property such as cars, motorbikes, televisions, fridges etc., which are non-productive materials, but show a higher standard of living and social status, is also important. The ability to financially assist community projects, and to lend a helping hand to others in the community, including the disadvantaged kin, was considered as wealth in the villages under study (Kyei 2000).

On the basis of the above, smallholder farmers believe their welfare has not been adequately adhered to due to the fact that they remain voiceless in many of the things that concern their livelihoods. They do not understand why decisions that affect their livelihoods should be taken without recourse to their opinions and views. Also, the inability of policy makers and organisations working to improve the livelihoods of the poor to effectively take advantage of the voices of the poor and offer them a listening ear further helps confines the poor smallholder farmers to the doldrums of vulnerability. Abibatu Fuseni, a 41-year-old poor farmer and vice secretary to the Kpaman Farmers Association, notes:

> *You are always called for you to come and be preached to. Sometimes these agro-dealers ask for your views after they have already decided what they intend [to do] for you. Ridiculous, isn't it? A typical example is during our last meeting with AGRA representatives, they insisted on prevailing upon members to patronise improved and certified maize, rice and soybean seeds at prices that are still high despite the fact that most people complain of [a] lack of tractor services and money. I think this attitude toward us is due to the fact that we are vulnerable and for that matter the poor man must not be seen as a decision maker; this is the case in our normal lives* (interview with Abibatu Fuseni, Cheshe, 21/06/2014).

As alluded to in chapter five, the conduct of AGRA and allied local organisations to large extent ignore the core problems of smallholder farmers. Abiba's account is a classic example. This is why scholars like Edwards (2011) argue that the new philanthropy rides on the rise of market based approaches as a natural component of a much wider and more deliberate trend to introduce the logic of business

principles and of capitalism into more aspects of the world economy. Similarly, Baxter (2016) contend that AGRA and its 'alliances' and supposedly 'smart' approaches to tackling hunger and poverty in Africa, already suffering from climate change, are anchored in a blind, almost cult-like faith in neo-liberal economics and 'the Market' to get us out of the terrible mess that this same dogma has landed us in. He insists that AGRA and its partners are designed to take control of, not strengthen, Africa's farmers, farming and food systems. He claims that the neo-liberal approaches they espouse fly in the face of independent research and the views of people with a genuine interest in the issues.

8.4 Economic Empowerment of Smallholder Farmers through Philanthropy

As argued in chapter four, the north has a myriad of economic, health, environmental, and educational challenges, which have contributed to massive inequalities for the majority of the roughly 4.3 million people living there. Low levels of literacy, poor nutrition, inconsistent weather patterns, geographic isolation from market centres and little knowledge of modern farming practices have hindered the Northern Region's productivity. Up to 90% of these smallholder farmers have land holdings of less than two hectares and employ traditional agricultural practices. Empowering smallholder farmers' economically through philanthropy has been part of the agenda of AGRA for instance, but as to whether smallholder farmers feel empowered or not, subsequent discussions in this chapter will illustrate.

The economic impact of philanthropic support is viewed as improved yields and accommodation. It also means that smallholder farmers are able to get higher prices for their produce than by selling through wholesale outlets, by taking on some of the

market functions usually carried out by AGRA's partner organizations–like the control and supply of inputs as well as a comprehensive local economic development strategy (Bullock 2000).

In fact, to call for the empowerment of vulnerable people in the Northern Region is another way to challenge the social structure. In order to discuss philanthropic empowerment conclusively, one needs to consider the patrilineal nature of the region, which influences the culture of that society. Some of these factors have not been taken on-board by philanthropic practitioners in their attempt to bring about positive impact in the lives of the people. As discussed in chapter six, AGRA officials confirmed that there were no modalities put in place to help vulnerable groups of people such as women and people with disabilities. This is why this study joins the group of evaluators in indicating that the role of philanthropy in this arena rather reinforces existing gender imbalances (Anheier and Leat 2006; Matovu 2006; Patel 2012).

Notwithstanding AGRA's presence in Cheshe village, the conditions of farmers in both villages are uniquely the same. There are no remarkable changes in the situation of smallholder farmers accruing to philanthropic interventions in Cheshe village, except that about seven interviewees who were able to afford the subsidized prices have reported some substantial increases in yields as a result of HYI seeds. What is however common in both villages is that smallholder farmers have had their voices curtailed, they are still consigned to their poor ways of life and are usually on the lookout for philanthropic organizations for handouts without much say in the decisions that affect them. The kind of working relationship and the nature of support

they receive have not substantially empowered smallholder farmers. In one of the male focus group discussions, a farmer had this to say:

> *As a farmer, my job is to be able to produce enough foodstuffs to feed my family and the nation at large. But you know what? I don't have the power to determine all the things that concern what I should do as a farmer. I'm saying that, I do not have the power to determine the prices of my own foodstuff that I send to the market, nor do I have that authority to influence the cost of farming inputs. You send goods to the market and you cannot price them higher than what the buyers want to hear and buy, the only choice is to return them home and when you do that, the issues of storage also come in. The poor farmer is powerless in all these situations* (MFG1 Interview Data).

Clearly, this speaks volumes on how decisions and program choices for the poor are determined by the more powerful benefactor-organizations like AGRA. As it is, agricultural inputs recipients are involved in contributing ideas to the planning of the programs; however, they are left out in the final decision-making process, but own the projects since they implement them. Smallholder farmers are left with little or no choice but to go along with the suggested programs since that is usually the only alternative open to them.

The situation with the perception of the smallholder farmers in Dungu was completely similar. Farmers generally conveyed a message of a complete displeasure of boosting their economic empowerment through philanthropic interventions in Dungu. A number of smallholder farmers felt that the absence of philanthropic organisations such as AGRA was the more reason why they have been

disadvantaged economically. My interaction with Sanatu Hassan, a trader who sells retail goods such as second hand clothings, plastic bags and household cooking ingredients in Dungu village, pointed out how her trading business was suffering due to lack of quality infrastructural and storage facilities to make trading effective and profitable.

> *The only open market here is just a large ground where we assemble on market days to sell. There are no storage facilities in this place so that when it is raining or when we close we can easily secure our goods. The local district assembly has been collecting market tolls for the purpose of providing some of these, but I can tell you that since I have been trading for the past thirteen years nothing has been done in this regard. As for the road network, I leave it to your own judgement* (Interview with Sanatu Hassan, Dungu, 22/06/2014).

As previously mentioned in chapter four and six, apart from Sanatu Hassan and her other petty traders' experiences, women in the Northern Region have a lot obstacle in their way: it is difficult for them to obtain ownership of land, and women are also perceived to be homemakers and therefore are to care for the home and children mostly, with little or no access to education. This state of affairs disempowers women economically and does little to lift the people out of poverty and improve their livelihoods. Furthermore, some cultural practices completely disempower women and confine them to a state of hopelessness. For instance, it is very intriguing that only women are considered *witches (soonya)* in these areas. Such alleged witches are confined to '*witches'* camps' and are socially excluded; they are denied access to economic resources and so are not able to earn any meaningful living. These practices inhibit the livelihood acquisition of the affected. Again, the role of

philanthropy in addressing all these key issues is unnoticeable. During interaction with one of the interviewees on the specific group of people or persons he considered vulnerable, with little livelihoods left to live on and what accounted for such a categorization, he provided the following comments:

> *Cultural practices have given enormous powers to men. Men dominate in all facets of the life of the people in the northern region. What this mean is that women and children are always at the receiving end. Apart from that, you probably are very much aware of the numerous conflicts in this village; land conflicts, inherence disputes and chieftaincy disputes. The outcome of these mishaps disempowers somebody and that puts such an individual in a precarious situation. History has shown that people who mostly lose out in situations like this are poor people. In fact, if you are poor everything goes against you! Poor people do not have influence and followers; this is one of the reasons why we have always been marginalised* (Interview with Lansa Alhassan Ibrahim, Dungu, 21/06/2014).

The state of being described as 'economically weak and powerless' in the Northern Region as pointed out in the discussion is multifaceted; people in this category could be described as a lacking basic asset such as land, the most important ingredient for improved livelihood. This exposes individuals, households, and the overall community to an increased risk of impoverishment (Kareithi 2004). It is evident from the facts above that land tenure insecurity that deprives women in particular has a negative impact on agricultural production, which affects smallholders' quest to improve their livelihoods. This position was also supported by Duncan et al. (2013), who found that in the Northern Region, women tend to be particularly vulnerable

when tenure becomes less secure, as they often have less secure rights than men, and are therefore the first to lose their rights as land becomes scarce. As discussed in chapter four, the Ghanaian Constitution prohibits discrimination based on gender and guarantees women's rights to own and inherit property. However, although there has been recent progress on the part of traditional governance institutions, customary rules tend to discriminate against women in the area of property. Women's access to land is often based on their relationships with male family members, such as fathers, brothers, and husbands.

8.4.1 Other Factors Militating Against the Empowerment of Smallholder Farmers

Many interviewees were also articulate in pointing to relatively new faces of the lack of livelihood improvement opportunities. According to the data gathered, factors which account for the disempowerment of smallholder farmers include: a lack of access to services like education, markets, health care, a lack of decision making ability, and a lack of communal facilities like water, sanitation, roads, transportation, and communications. During the course of interacting with the secretary to the chief of Dungu, he gave the following comments:

> *The majority of our youth in recent times has been engaged in all manner of social vices. It is as a result of persistent poverty that has led to many of our young girls being impregnated by city boys, especially those who have left for the cities in search of greener pastures. The resurgence in the spate of armed robbery incidents in this village and elsewhere is a manifestation of poverty. The individuals who are involved in this enterprise are definitely poor people.*

No rich person will take a gun and rob an innocent person (Interview with Alhassan Ibrahim, Dungu, 21/06/2014).

Ashetu Mahama, a 60-year-old housewife with seven children, pursued the discussion from a different angle. According to Ashetu, various governments and international plus local organisations have deliberately implemented programmes that will keep the poor farmers at the same peasantry level so that they can continue to remain relevant by using them for personal gains. Ashetu argues:

As for me, I know I have not educated myself to a high level. I dropped out at the junior high school level, but I know a lot than you can ever imagine. I have seen and heard all manner of promises from the government, NGOs, AGRA and so many others about the possibility of banishing poverty from our midst. If they cannot do it, why are they raising it in the first place? I believe they can do it, but they won't because they prefer to see us needy and poor so they can always steal resources in our name in order to remain in business. There are a lot of resources in this country and yet when you come to places like this, you will think that you are in a different country. If they could develop those big cities to be as nice as they are, why not here? (Interview with Ashetu Mahama, Cheshe, 23/7/2014).

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the farmers perceive that the state rather allows an economic system which is organized in ways that encourage the accumulation of wealth at one end and creates conditions of scarcity that make impoverishment inevitable at the other. This is one of the key reasons why the role of the new philanthropy in poverty reduction has been questioned by many scholars (Eikenberry and Nickel 2006). Johnson (1997) sums it well when he said the system

we have for producing and distributing wealth is capitalist, which is organized in ways that allow small elite to control most of the capital – factories, machinery, tools – used to produce wealth.

8.5 Priorities of Poor Smallholder Farmers

As stated earlier, the interest of smallholder farmers is to better their lot in life through significant increases in yields. It was found that they indeed have a better appreciation of how their lives could be improved by way of having bumper harvests year-in and year-out. In the data, two categories of livelihood improvement needs emerged, needs that are limited to what I consider as 'home' and 'farm' needs. With regards to 'home' needs, five most important needs consisting of transport facilities, health centres, electricity, education and health were cited. Smallholder farmers also mentioned free access to agricultural inputs, storage facilities, and availability water for farming as farm needs.

In the research villages (Cheshe and Dungu) it was found that almost every family owned land of a relatively large size (more than 2 hectares). However, the land cultivated was only a small proportion of the land holdings due to the fear of rain failure and many other associate problems, as discussed in chapter seven. These problems (see Table 8.2) put a lot of impediments in the way of smallholder farmers' quest to sustainably improve their livelihood situations. As mentioned before, these limitations are caused by several factors such as a lack of money, the size of arable land, insufficient human capital, and constraints in the supply of agricultural inputs (Rumbewas 2005; UNDP 2015a). Nuhu Amidu, the Chief Imam of Cheshe village

was asked for his views regarding the needs and priorities of smallholder farmers to improve their livelihoods in general:

> *I cultivate one hectare of maize and rice each and two hectares of groundnut. Farming is a time consuming and capital-intensive venture, even though I am into smallholder farming for sustenance, but you would agree with me that everything about farming these days depends on money, as it always difficult to raise the needed capital to do it effectively. As long as AGRA is able to support me individually to buy fertilizer, seeds, and guarantee me reliable rainfall, then I can call myself a rich man* (Interview with Nuhu Amidu, Chief Imam of Cheshe, 23/07/2014).

Similarly, Dungu smallholder farmers prioritise activities that will lead to increases in yield, particularly, the ability to farm all year round. One of the interviewees from Dungu explained what she considers as the priorities of poor smallholder farmers:

> *Every farmer needs modern farming equipment, and agricultural inputs to improve his or her livelihood. I am saying this because demands for extension services and farming inputs, for example, regularly go unheard. For me, any intervention that ensures that farmers' interest and welfare are adhered to, ensuring a fair access to credit is the immediate need of many of us. Many smallholder farmers are vulnerable due to the insufficient water for farming throughout the year and over dependence on basic farming equipment. We do not have support that can address all these issues for us* (Interview with Shahadu Imoro, Dungu, 22/06/2014).

The dominant view among smallholder farmers was that, given the scale of the problems associated with low yields, any livelihood improvement initiative should factor in all the elements as discussed in Table 8.2. A realistic, responsive plan that takes into consideration the perceptions and priorities of the poor is imperative in the development process at the district level. Many interviewees do display high faith in the role of philanthropy, the state and other NGOs in improving their yields, even though at the moment they concede that the combined efforts of these various institutions are nothing to write home about.

Table 8.2: Perceived Livelihoods Improvement Approaches- Northern Region

Areas that need to be addressed (Approaches)	What should be done for the realisation of these approaches		
	Smallholder Farmers	***At Village Level***	***AGRA***
Irrigation facilities	Farmers have been seen to be helpless in this regard. This why there is a massive call in this thesis for intervention.	Working together through village chiefs and opinion leaders to petition AGRA, government and other agencies to bring irrigation facilities to the villages.	Prioritise on irrigation issues to address the unreliable rains by building dams across the farming areas.
Inputs (seeds, fertiliser,	Be as responsible as possible in terms of the attraction of inputs and repayment when necessary.	Allow community associations to be involved in decision making	Not just link farmers to inputs, but also ensure availability and also absorb the some of the cost, as they are still expensive
Soft loans	Take the risk and access loans in order to expand productivity	Village associations or leadership should be the first points of call to resolve issues of non-payment	Get the loans as an institution and distribute them among farmers without interest or deposit capital
Tractor services	Prepare ahead of schedule in order to get tractor services to avoid the last minute mad rush.	Act as a guarantor of the security of machines	Ensure there are more tractors available for farmers to use with low ploughing rates. Also, make the conditions for purchasing of tractors very attractive and affordable
The authority to determine prices	Do not always be in a haste to sell produce without getting first-hand information about the market or prices elsewhere	Work through the community voice to ensure that members are not short-changed	Link farmers to organisations that are ready to offer good prices. Assist farmers in the quest to have a voice in the pricing of their own produce.

Source: Source: 80 in-depth interviews (individuals) and 8 focus group discussions in the study villages.

8.6 Conclusion

I have striven in this chapter to show what smallholder farmers perceive as livelihood needs and how these identified livelihoods could be improved positively through philanthropy. From the analysis of the fieldwork evidence, some important points have emerged. Poor smallholder farmers' understanding of deprivation and livelihoods was driven by practical experiences. The emergent of multiple meanings of deprivation as explained in this chapter are an indication that for philanthropy to meet the needs of the poor, it would require a dynamic multidimensional approach in tackling a range of different poverty types that poor households face, not just linking farmers to services and inputs as emphasised in chapter five. Also, from the analysis, it can be inferred that smallholder farmers; a) are reluctant to new technologies b) they see farming as their core activity c) do not see philanthropy as do enough to assist them improve their livelihoods.

However, as pointed out in the discussion, philanthropic actions take place within relativistic differentiated systems of relations, or ‘fields’, each with particular sets of rules (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Vitolas 2011). This is why Bourdieu argues that the rules that govern a field are historically structured around the interests of dominant actors and that the actors’ possibilities for profiting from capital in its diverse forms are conditioned by the position they assume within a particular field (dominant, subordinated, or intermediate) and the kind of relationships they are able to establish.

In this chapter, I argue that the impact and efforts of philanthropic organizations in promoting rural development are woefully inadequate to bring about that holistic change at the grassroots level. This was exemplified in the views of Suzana Napari

and Salifu Nindoo (village chief) from Cheshe and Dungu respectively. According to Suzana, the job of a farmer is the ability to produce enough foodstuffs to feed his or her household, but despite the intervention of AGRA and other social actors, smallholder farmers do not have the power to determine all the things that concern them.

The needs of rural dwellers go beyond selecting a few groups of individuals and linking them to inputs, tractor services, or the provision of agricultural subsidies. I also argue that philanthropy, though there is huge potential in its current modus operandi, has very little role in transforming the livelihoods of poor smallholder farmers. However, philanthropic investment, when conducted as 'locally owned', and when devoid of hegemonic gains, could improve the quality and quantity of economic opportunities available to smallholder farmers. My argument is quite similar to that of Michael Porter and Kramer Mark. According to Porter and Kramer (2002), modern business succeeds only if it engages with the totality of society and only if it considers economic and social goals as interconnected with and contributing to the full social context in which it operates.

Furthermore, this study suggests that philanthropy can use its voice, its prestige, and its ability to convene, to call attention to issues of inequality in our society rather than seeking to do what it is incapable of, since philanthropic led activities are not devised and prioritised by the indigenous poor people.

As the contributors to this thesis have argued so forcefully, smallholder farmers do need new seeds and associated technological and marketing solutions to increase their productivity, enhance their economic livelihoods and improve food security. But

this ‘agro-dealer led seed production and sale to farmers’ cannot be sustained since farmers are not prepared to spend their little savings on agricultural inputs. For this reason, agro-dealers alone must not be left to take charge of making inputs available to smallholder farmers. For the impact of philanthropy to be manifested, key issues of philanthropic investments should be opened to public debate about the future options and pathways – about the direction, distribution and diversity (Scoones and Thompson 2011).

For those in the Northern Region, therefore, having a good quality of life means being able to farm all year round, having a good house, four or five cows, land, good clothes to put on and food to eat. Incomes are important to smallholder farmers, but there are other important resources that are critical to them beyond earnings and income. These include access to transport facilities, health centres, electricity, education and health and a polygynous (a practice of having more than one wife) household. A middle-aged Ramatu Dokuru opines that for an improved livelihood, there should be a male member of the household earning money, a son for every mother, and a husband pursuing polygamy for the good of the family. This, and factors such as a lack of job opportunities, ethnic and land conflicts, rain failure, excessive corruption and environmental degradation form the fundamental structure of the Northern Region as a larger society. As stated before, this thesis, therefore, agrees with the argument by Bourdieu that the roots of poverty and livelihood constraints are situated in the fundamental structures of societies cannot be changed philanthropists and philanthropic foundations.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

9.1 Introduction

This final chapter consists of the main conclusions, policy implications and limitations, as well as recommendations for further studies. This chapter is divided into subsections in order to provide a generalised conclusion. Section one discusses the overview of the study in relation to the overall research agenda; the research questions that the study sought to answer. A reflection on the case study methodology and the research strategies adopted are discussed next. The major findings that emerged out of the study comprise the next stage of the discussion. Then, both the theoretical and practical contributions of the study to current knowledge are looked at. Last but not least, a reflection on the personal experiences of the researcher throughout the course of the doctoral programme is presented. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the major limitations of the study and the recommendations for future research.

9.2 An Overview of the Study

This research explores the significant contributions of the new philanthropy towards improving the conditions of smallholder farmers in Ghana, smallholder farmers' understanding of philanthropy and investigates the relationship that exists between philanthropy and smallholder farmers. The research has been designed to uncover the needs and drivers of both philanthropy and smallholder farmers in relation to their interaction and the fulfilment of the philanthropic contract they have entered into. The research has an objective to provide an in-depth analysis of AGRA's

involvement in the livelihoods of smallholder farmers in the Northern Region of Ghana and to consider the potential of philanthropy for rural transformation through livelihood improvements. To help the researcher achieves the research objectives and to help the reader comprehend the direction of the arguments, some specific research questions were asked. A qualitative methodology and a case study approach were adopted; empirical data were obtained and the results interpreted through the lens of an actor-oriented approach (DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Berg 2004; Creswell 2012; Awuah-Werekoh 2015).

9.3 Summary of the Research Approach

As mentioned before, a qualitative case study approach was adopted for the study due to its ability to describe, understand, and explain the issues (Yin 2011). Thus, since the objective of the research was to explore the significant contributions of the new philanthropy towards improving the conditions of smallholder farmers in Ghana, smallholder farmers' understanding of philanthropy and to investigate the relationship that exists between philanthropy and smallholder farmers, the use of a case study approach was justified. The methodology ensured completeness in observation and analysis of the socially constructed nature of AGRA from the perspectives of the various social actors within their natural settings. It also provided the researcher the opportunity to know and appreciate an AGRA's working relationship with smallholder farmers and other social actors involved in livelihood improvement mechanisms through various evidence gathering approaches, including interviews, observations and detailed documentary reviews (Yin 2011; Awuah-Werekoh 2015).

However, this research is very much aware of one major criticism of the use of case study approach: that is, it has been criticised for time wasting (Creswell 2012). To avoid this criticism and make its application effective, the researcher made extensive use of interview schedules as a guide to capture data. Interviews were recorded using a tape recorder and by taking notes. The flexible nature of the case study approach allowed the researcher to reschedule interview appointments with interviewees, incorporate emerging issues and vary interview styles appropriately whenever necessary (DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Awuah-Werekoh 2015).

9.4 Summary of Major Findings

The study has shown that smallholder farmers' perceived philanthropy in many ways. For them, philanthropy constitutes all activities that are nongovernmental. According to the analysis of the data, philanthropy, in the opinions of smallholder farmers means (i) support agencies, (ii) institutions that divert government packages for farmers, (iii) sources of knowledge and information dissemination, and (iv) an enhanced infrastructure development. Even at the national level, philanthropy is not widely known and prioritised. The state, through the NDPC and its regional governance machineries, has been largely ineffective in attracting philanthropic resources. This further partly contributes to the kind of perception people hold about it at the village level.

Despite the misconception of philanthropy, there was evidence to suggest that philanthropy has a direct impact on poor smallholder farmers. The few farmers who were able to buy agricultural inputs recorded increases in yields. As a result, their living standards improved, as they were now able to purchase decent clothing,

roofed their compounds with aluminium sheets and could also afford better schools for their children. As pointed out in chapter three, access to road transportation has significant bearing on the unit cost of transportation of agricultural products from rural villages to the urban centres. The few individual farmers who were able afford tricycles as a result of high yields has been able to avoid the high cost of transporting farm produce to marketing centres.

However, philanthropic activities and interventions cover only a small segment of the populace, and were found to be merely treating the symptoms of poverty rather than dealing with the core issues of livelihood improvements. Such issues include ensuring farmers are able to farm all year, solving post-harvest losses, making agricultural inputs affordable (not just linking farmers to agro-dealers) and ensuring that local organisations partnering with AGRA for example are accountable to smallholder farmers and not AGRA. Specifically, AGRA's activities were found to be merely treating the symptoms of poverty influenced by neo-liberalism. AGRA's view creating an enabling environment where smallholder famers are linked to inputs and finance would lead to patronage is erroneous. As presented in this thesis, in the midst of AGRA's intervention, majority of smallholder farmer could not still afford agricultural inputs as well as secure loans from banks due to high interest rates. The core issues of poverty have to do with making inputs much cheaper and affordable, ensuring that smallholder farmers are able to farm all year round through the provision of irrigation farming. Furthermore, conscious efforts must be made to ensure that farmers have absolute control of their farm proceeds, especially the AGRA group of farmers. This will invariably, empower them to decide upon areas they would to invest the profit in order to improve their livelihoods. Neoliberal policies

in Ghana have ceded more responsibilities to organisations like AGRA, making the government of the day ineffective. This state of affairs between the state and philanthropy without a doubt is responsible for the inability to deal with the core issues of vulnerability.

The fact that poor people do not even know what philanthropy stands for in itself is detrimental to the cause of improving livelihoods through philanthropy. Concerted efforts would have been made by poor people to attract philanthropic resources had they known that these resources are ‘cheaper’ than the ordinary NGOs resources that they have lumped philanthropy with.

In spite of the generally good intentions of philanthropy, it can be said from the fieldwork data that many farmers believe that the contribution of the new philanthropy to their farming in terms of yield increases is very negligible. This is particularly seen in smallholder farmers’ inability to afford seeds, chemical fertilizer and other inputs, despite the subsidies that come with many of these inputs.

Furthermore, the evidence gathered suggests that philanthropic investments focused on agricultural markets and finance, access to chemical fertilizer and improved seeds have helped propagate gender inequalities. These findings are supportive of the views of Michael Edwards that this modern-day concept of philanthropy is mostly influenced by capitalism, which has rather led to a rapid growth of inequality – which threaten the stability of the system (Edwards 2015).

In chapter five, the discussion on philanthropy and traditional institutions argues that traditional institutions can offer the leadership roles that can assist the hunt for development, for example by rallying support and funding for development. The

interplay of that institution with the formal statutory one has also been illustrated, finding that chiefs perform some functions that the statutory system cannot, as well as vice versa. This study revealed that despite the fact that some chiefs have been accused of playing critical roles in tribal and land conflicts, community members still believe in the role and authority of their chiefs. Also, the study revealed that chiefs are influential in local politics as they are formally recognised during the period of indirect rule under the British colonialism.

In line with the argument made in chapter seven, in order for philanthropic resources to be beneficial to the generality of smallholder farmers, a lot of factors have to be brought on board, as seen from the perspectives of farmers. Smallholder farmers need a constant supply of water and land for the poor, especially women farmers: access to land and control over their land is essential for the basic livelihood of their families. Throughout the discussions chapters; six, seven and eight, it became evident from the study that the failures to involve farmers in decisions that affect their livelihoods was found to be the major cause of the problems of many philanthropic programmes. Specifically, the provision of seeds, chemicals, fertilizer and other inputs to farmers, whether free or subsidised, is not the immediate need of smallholder farmers. Consequently, understanding the socioeconomic dynamics in the Northern Region and amongst the farmers should be an important part of policy formulation for philanthropic involvements seeking to exploit gains, income generating ventures, and livelihood for smallholder farmers. These findings portrayed AGRA as prioritising and engaging in ventures that could only be described as misplaced priorities that have failed to address the core issues of smallholder farmers' livelihoods needs.

Many but not all Ghanaian farmers are now used to benefitting from philanthropic actions, and this has induced a kind of 'sit-and wait' culture. In other words, farmers are used to getting assistance and getting things for free. The findings have revealed a range of institutional and policy barriers (see section 9.6) that undermine philanthropy's role in poverty reduction. Whilst poverty reduction needs government and donor intervention at the local level, the quantitative measurement of poverty based on 'poverty lines' of income and consumption, and the measurement of the success of philanthropy through a volume of arrivals, receipts and licensed businesses, pays inadequate attention to local people's wider livelihood opportunities.

This research findings provide evidence to reject the assumption made by the proponents of philanthrocapitalists that philanthropic resources are helping solve the welfare needs of the needy with available resources (Anheier and Leat 2006; Bishop and Green 2008). Moreover, this thesis contributes to the debate by placing a strong emphasis on the specificities of context to demonstrate that the new philanthropy can widen the scope of funding operations directly to those most affected and needing assistance, not through '*secondary local organisations',* which are more concerned about their own survival than dealing with the core issues of the vulnerable. This will invariably put smallholder farmers at the centre of development. The inherent practices of the new philanthropy in its current form rather promote situations where a few individuals get the opportunity to be assisted in one way or the other, the form assistance mostly offered cannot in any way address the root causes of poverty and inequality.

9.4.1 Questioning the 'Fit' with the Ghana Aid Policy and Strategy

The Ghana Aid Policy and Strategy for development discussed in chapter seven revealed that this policy framework, as well as previous policies before it, were fashioned based on bureaucratic procedures shaped by the external conditionalities of the World Bank and the IMF, which placed value on increasing efficiency rather than on enhancing social equity (Whitfield 2010). As in most cases in Ghana, a blueprint guides development efforts from the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC). The goal of the NDPC is to advise the President of the Republic of Ghana (and the Parliament on request) on national development planning policy and strategy by providing a framework for re-stabilizing the economy to promote and sustain accelerated growth and poverty (NDPC 2015).

This research questioned the emphasis on 'wholesale' approach taken by the Ghana Aid Policy and Strategy in tackling development problems, with little regard to regional differentials in resource endowments. As discussed in chapters seven and eight, this policy plan in Ghana focuses on increasing efficiency and reducing the economic decline rather than on enhancing social equity. The importance of an established policy framework separately for the new philanthropy cannot be overemphasized. A separate policy framework for philanthropy would have the key objective of mobilising private philanthropic resources to support steady economic growth and sustainable development, contributing to the economic and social well-being of the people of Ghana. It would further aim to advance the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals and help to mobilise financing for development in support of the post-2015 development agenda more strongly and effectively. An existing policy framework could also provide a reference point for philanthropic

foundations' poverty reduction programmes for rural development. The absence of a policy framework for philanthropy only goes to confirm the low level of seriousness attached to philanthropy by the government; this further partly contributes to the kind of perceptions people hold about it. Care should be taken by policy-makers not to generalise philanthropy's role in livelihood improvement in Ghana. One key alternative to be considered in the future is the development of irrigation to promote farm productivity.

9.5 Strengths and Limitations of the Research

The strengths of this study are embedded in the emphasis on listening to the views of poor people rather than of the AGRA officials and local partners, conservationists and development planners alone. The choices of qualitative methods, semi-structured and focused group discussions as explained in chapter three provide a 'deeper' understanding of the role of the new philanthropy in poverty reduction. These methods are particularly appropriate, as they created an avenue for the researcher to spark ideas from other participants throughout the data gathering process, resulting in a richer response from interviewees. Another notable strength is the focus on advancing the existing theory and practice as well, particularly in development policy and institutional strengthening (Kareithi 2004).

As mentioned before, there is a lack of baseline data on which to base the impacts of philanthropy on the livelihoods of the smallholder farmers in the Northern Region. This research drew on smallholder farmers' accounts of their experiences with AGRA, their verdicts on their livelihood situations in the mist of AGRA interventions, the constraints they face, and their own reflections on the impacts brought about by

engaging in philanthropic backed AGRA packages for them. The benefit of this approach is that it enables outsiders to identify the livelihood impacts that seem to be of most importance to local people themselves.

This thesis has also identified the issue of over reliance on both local and international organisations by smallholder farmers as a magic wand for their problems; the proliferation of numerous FBOs in the region has worsened the situation. For a majority of the smallholder farmers, an increment in yields leading to an equal improvement livelihood is more important than the incentive to maximise income. As mentioned before, the over concentration of income and statistics negates the will power to promote rural development. Several academics have questioned the idea of relying on economic growth as a yardstick for determining the wellbeing of individuals, and this study contributes greatly to this school of thought. In spite of the importance of economic growth to a Ghana's development, several studies and renowned economists have pointed out the limitations of GDP and per capita growth as measures of development (Rimmer 1966; Sen 1998). Ayelazuno (2014) argues that the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Report is based on these misconceptions. Ayelazuno further contend that the Human Development Report conceptualizes development and growth in more people-centred terms: it is about people, and about how development enlarges their choices. An individual's access to income may be one of the choices, but it is not the sum total of human endeavours (Sen 1998).

Nonetheless, certain limitations can be noted. Furthermore, the exploratory nature of the study of an emerging discourse like the new philanthropy may be perceived as a limitation in itself, as the data may not be easily generalizable. The use of the focus

group discussion was considered ideal and perfect for the study because the rural people have a common interest; live in the same area, and with common societal norms, but the difficulty in getting the people together during some of the interview schedules affected the reliability of the study (Cobbinah 2011). However, the findings of the study contribute to the debate on the real role of the new philanthropy in the international development arena.

Additionally, time was also a limitation to this research, as is commonly reported by researchers. As stated in chapter three, the data collection process was undertaken in 14 weeks, starting from May to September 2014. Although deep insights were gained into the living conditions of smallholder farmers in the research villages, more valuable information could have been gathered had further research funding (e.g. transportation, airfare, and accommodation fees) been available. This limitation was partly overcome given the researcher's ability to secure accommodation in Tamale and hence immerse myself in the whole process.

The researcher has tried to ensure the accuracy of the interview transcriptions. In most cases, the interviews were transcribed as soon as possible when the researcher's memory was still fresh. They were also complemented by field notes taken during the fieldwork. In addition, the interviewees' wording and phrases were maintained as close as possible to the original, as if they were experts in their own lives (chapters six and seven). However, it is acknowledged that some information might have been lost in translation (by the local guide) and transcription (by the researcher). Some biases might have also been introduced out of the researcher's own intentions, as is often reported by social science researchers (Truong 2014). Fortunately, this difficulty was overcome, to a certain extent, with the combination of

the field notes and observations taken, as well as the triangulation of multiple data sources as mentioned (ibid).

Finally, this research focuses on AGRA's role in improving the livelihoods of smallholder farmers; therefore, its findings are biased towards this segment of the population alone. An obvious limitation of this research might be the generalizability of its findings. However, the methods used in this study are in consonance with my research interest to provide rich qualitative information regarding the research area versus statistically generalizable or predictive analysis of this group.

9.6 Recommendations for Policy Formulation and Further Research

This research will recommend a number of issues for further investigation in the future. Firstly, the possibility of the new philanthropic resources going directly to the main recipients instead of passing through greedy self-seeking local organisations needs to be looked into. As observed, local organisations in alliance with AGRA are goal-driven, and their quest to assist farmers to improve upon their livelihood hinges upon a number goal of financial gains before anything else. AGRA, as the main funder, has an important role to play in ensuring that partner organisations focus on sustainable improvements of livelihoods, and not on landing the big money to seemingly solve their organizations' financial woes in the short-term (Abray-Nyman 2011). AGRA and its leadership are best positioned to engage the government of the day in the long-term delivery of public goods to those in need of it the most. What emerges out of this is an authentic relationship between the transformational donor, an implementer and a true recipient – one that results in long-term value for rural development.

In terms of working through associations, women have been seen to be very formidable in this respect. Therefore, this study also recommends that active women's groups should be recognised in their own right and extended the necessary considerations that they deserve for increasing their productivity. Indeed, the understanding of the socioeconomic dynamics in the Northern Region and amongst the farmers should be an important part of policy formulation for philanthropic involvements seeking to increase the livelihoods of smallholder farmers.

In furtherance with the believe that the root causes of poverty and livelihood constraints are situated in the fundamental structures of societies, an important policy area for further research in Ghana should commence with philanthropic resources targeting, focusing on how a targeting policy could influence livelihoods positively and not just concentrating on national economic statistics.

In view of the above, this study recommends the establishment of an industry by policy makers, especially the government of the day, tailored towards the needs of the aforementioned. There is a need for an industry to meet the growing demands of the burgeoning farming population in terms of adding value to the farm produce emanating from the region as well as creating employable opportunities in the area.

Gender discrimination and restrictions on women's access to inputs, land and equal playing field limit their capacity to engage in resourceful farming. Measures put in place to enable improved access to land for example for women and minority groups should be investigated, engaging with local community leaders and chiefs.

Finally, the role of the new philanthropy in addressing agronomic needs of smallholder farmers has been discussed in chapter six. This highlights the need for

future research aimed to strengthen institutional and organisational responsiveness in the form of public action and the provision of tangible support, which values collaboration with direct recipients and local communities without the involvement of local organisations and the commercial class.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Risk Assessment

Fieldwork Project Details

Faculty/School/Service	School of International and Social Studies
Fieldwork Location	Wa and Tamale in the northern part of Ghana. 5 June- 18 September 2014 Data collection/fieldwork will be carried out in this place

Brief description of Fieldwork activity and purpose the purpose of the trip is to:

- Conduct observation, informal and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in the Wechiau Township and Tamale Metropolis in order to understand the significant contributions of philanthropy towards the improving conditions of smallholder farmers, investigate the relationship that exists between the two and why they are doing what they have sought to do. The research is designed to uncover the needs and drivers of both philanthropy and smallholder farmers in relation to their interaction and the fulfilment of the philanthropic contract they have entered into.
- Visit the Local Government office to get Regency and local level socioeconomic data as well as data from AGRA Office, which are relevant for all those carrying out our research aims.

Timetable

Dates	Activity	Location
31 – May	Depart from Leeds Airport	UK
01 June – June	Arrive in Ghana	Ghana
08 June – 30 June	Gain access	Tamale, Cheshe and Dungu, Ghana
02 July – 12 July	Recruit research assistants	Tamale, Ghana
13 July – 25 July	Participant Observation and Semi-Structured Interviews	Tamale, Ghana
27 July – 07 August	Informal and focus group interviews	Research Villages, Ghana
09 Aug – 19 Aug	Collect secondary data in local government office	Tamale, Ghana
20 Aug –30 Aug	Participant Observation and Semi-Structured Interviews	Research Villages, Ghana
01 Sep – 09 Sep	Informal and focus group interviews	Research Villages, Ghana
10 Sep – 15 Sep	Re-Check the data	Accra, Ghana
17 – Sep	Depart from Kotoka Airport	Ghana
17 – Sep	Arrive in Leeds Airport	UK

Accommodation details
ADDRESS & PHONE NUMBER

Organiser Details	***Contact details*** *Name, email, telephone*
Course Leader	SUMAILA ISSAKA ASURU, S.I.Asuru@bradford.ac.uk UK Mob: 07407873844 Ghana No +233243334110
Nature of visit:	Data collection, fieldwork.

Hazard Identification

Identify all hazards specific to fieldwork trip and activities, describe existing control measures and identify any further measures required.

HAZARD(S)	**CONTROL MEASURES** ***(e.g. alternative work methods, training, supervision, protective equipment)***

Nature of the site	1) The climate is tropical as I know due to the fact that I hail from there. I will bring and use sun protection (cream and clothing) and drink sufficient bottled water. I will also carry with me suitable warm clothing for evenings and days as it is a raining season. 2) Dysentery and other diseases will be avoided by only drinking bottled water, or water that has been boiled and filtered. I will also take every precaution to avoid eating raw/uncooked foods such as salads, unpeeled fruit. 3) I have a comprehensive first aid kit including sterile needles (in case of any accident during this exercise) and a range of bandages/plasters. 4) Personal security will be maintained by not travelling alone wherever possible (I will accompany with my research assistants so I will be accompanied by them for the majority of the trip), and keeping valuables discretely stored in a money belt. 5) The chance of a car accident will be minimised by using a reliable car hire company, driving, according to local road regulations and not travelling at night or alone.
Process	1) During the fieldwork, I will also be accompanied by an experienced local assistant to help with interviews with smallholder farmers and AGRA officials. 2) I will try to find the suitable stakeholders who can deal with this research. 3) I will have a cell phone with me at all times and will keep my wife (Bukari Rukaya) informed of my whereabouts at all material times. 4) I don't intend to have any manual handling during the fieldwork. 5) I will be using a laptop but will make sure it is used on a desk in the correct position.
Transport –	1) Return flights – KLM (Leeds to Accra) 2) Licensed taxis will be used to and from the airport 3) Public transport, I will use it because it is an appropriate way to reach the site.
Equipment	Laptop, mobile phones, digital recording device
Violence	Likely to be low; I will stay in secure accommodation and most at my home, travel in company where possible, and avoid travelling at night. I will avoid political rallies.

Individual(s)-	1) I have extensive experiences in long duration travel and rural/remote fieldwork in Ghana and particular that area. 2) I have prescribed medication for first aid and will ensure I have adequate amounts for the field season. Passport number: H2503827 The Nearest Hospital: **Tamale Teaching Hospital** **03720 -22454 /03720 -22458** **E-mail:** **info@tamaleteachinghospital.org**
Work Pattern	08.30 – 17.30 where possible and all travel will take place during daylight hours.

Other-	No visa needed for research, no residency permit required because I hail from there.

Additional Control Measures

Training: *Identify level and extent of information; instruction and training required consider experience of workers*

No further training required

Supervision: *Identify level of supervision required*

e.g. full time, Periodic telephone/radio contact	I will keep in touch with DR Behrooz M and Dr John Lawler via e-mail. I will carry a mobile phone for emergency purposes.

Other Controls-	*e.g. background checks for site visits* Mr. Bashiru Musah, Programme Assistant for Ghana Country Office and Agrodealer Development Project for West Africa at AGRA will obtain all permissions to visit and interview in villages and organise meetings. I have visited most of the sites previously so I am familiar with the procedures for visiting and also the community culture.
Identify Persons at Risk *This may include more individuals than the fieldwork participants e.g. other employees of partner organisations*	N/A
Additional Information *relevant to the one working activity including existing control measures; information instruction and training received, supervision, security, increased lighting, emergency procedures, first aid provision etc.*	**Dr Behrooz Morvaridi** Bradford Centre for International Development, University of Bradford, UK B.Morvaridi@bradford.ac.uk **Dr John Lawler** Bradford Centre for International Development, University of Bradford, UK J.Lawler@bradford.ac.uk **Relevant Contacts** Bukari Rukaya +233243334110 rukibaya@yahoo.com

Assessment carried out by	Name:	
	Signature:	
	Date:	

Names of person(s) involved in Fieldwork	Name:	SUMAILA ISSAKA ASURU

Signature:	
Date:	19 May 2014

Appendix B: AGRA Programs and Grants in Ghana

PROGRAM FOR AFRICA'S SEED SYSTEM (PASS)

The AGRA PASS program focuses on four catalytic initiatives in Education and training, Crop improvement, Seed production and dissemination, and Agro-dealer development. Some early accomplishments include:

- ✓ Training and certification of 2,048 agro-dealers in support of a farmer-focused input delivery system across the ten regions of Ghana through the Ghana Agro-dealer Development Program in collaboration with IFDC. The program has also leveraged $3 million in financing for agro-dealers
- ✓ PASS also supported 6 students at MSc level in Plant Breeding and Seed Science and Technology at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology from Ghana.
- ✓ Twelve (12) new crop varieties have been released in Ghana
- ✓ Support for five start-up seed companies (in Tamale, Kumasi, Ho, Ejura and Wa) to improve on the supply of high quality certified seeds of basic staples such as maize, rice, cowpea, and sorghum

SOIL HEALTH PROGRAM

- SHP interventions in Ghana target 280,000 households and have five major components technology • PhD training in KNUST to create a critical mass of soil scientists in Africa
- Collaboration with PPRSD on the implementation of the fertilizer regulatory system to Improve quality of fertilizers in Ghana
- Eighteen ISFM technologies were tested in 5 packages with 116 Farmer-based Organizations (FBOs) and covering 240 hectares. Maize yields increase range from 104% up to 564% compared to local practices and some interesting results for maize drought tolerant varieties and fertilization on soybeans are noted.
- The university laboratory has been upgraded to offer - analytical services for soils and fertilizers in Ghana.

MARKETS

- In Ghana, the AGRA-supported initiative Farmers –to-Markets project is facilitating organization of farmers into producer groups, contract farming to enable them gain access to established market outlets.
- The project works with SMEs such as the Savanna Farmers Marketing Company
- An Internet-based Mobile Phone Platform known as mFarms has been developed to link several value chain actors and improve on linkages and transparency in the marketplace.
- 19,500 farmers were profiled, geo-referenced and uploaded into the platform. 2,800 MT of soybean and maize were sold to aggregators

AGRA Breadbasket Strategy

- The Breadbasket Investment Plan focuses on increasing the cultivated area by about 150,000 hectares, increasing rice production from 150,000 tons to more than 350,000 and increasing maize production from 140,000 tons to beyond 300,000 tons. This is expected to raise the AGRA has planned a total of US $13.5 million new investments in 2011 to complement existing projects in the Northern Ghana Breadbasket.
- Three implementing partners are an integrated value chain facility involving about 34,000 farmers selected across 14 districts.
- From inception in 2007, AGRA has made substantial investments in Ghana across the program areas. These include $3,978,750 on two projects on Breadbasket transformation, $12,420,000 on 24 projects on the Seed System, $3,332,961 on two projects facilitating market access, and $5,718,000 on six projects to improve soil health leading to a total of $24,788,809 on 34 projects across the agricultural value chain.

Appendix C: Study Information Email

I am writing to request for your kind permission to conduct a research study at your institution. I am currently undertaking research as part of a doctoral thesis as a PhD researcher from the University of Bradford. The title of my thesis is The New Philanthropy, Poverty Reduction and Rural Development: A Case Study of Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) in Ghana. My study is a qualitative one largely based on interviews, culminating in the deeper study of AGRA activities and its beneficiaries in the northern region of Ghana.

If approval is granted, AGRA participants would be made to respond to a set of interview questions. Each interview session shall not exceed an hour, approximately thirty to forty-five minutes and I would naturally be happy to arrange this at a time and a place of their choice in order to minimize any inconvenience. The nature of the interview would be quite casual and conversational in style; however, should you wish to view a list of sample questions prior to the interview, I am more than happy to provide these ahead of time. The interview results will be pooled for the thesis project and individual results of this study will remain absolutely confidential and anonymous. I shall bring along official CONSENT FORMS provide by the university for participants to study before accepting grant interviews. Only pooled results will be documented. No costs will be incurred by either your organization or the individual participants.

I honestly believe that since this intended study is using AGRA as a case study of the New Philanthropy, the findings of this study shall assist your outfit and the entire philanthropic discourse immensely. Your approval of this study will be greatly appreciated. I will be more than happy to answer any questions or concerns that you may have at that time.

Many thanks

Sumaila I. Asuru
PhD Researcher and Graduate Teaching Assistant
Bradford Center for International Development
University of Bradford- UK
Supervisors: Dr Behrooz Morvaridi and Dr John Lawler

Appendix D: Consent Form

Participant Identification Number:

Name of Researcher : **Sumaila Issaka Asuru**
Institution : School of Social and International Studies, University of Bradford, UK
Contact information : 07467879996 – S.I.Asuru@bradford.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM

The new philanthropy and smallholder farmers': A Case Study of Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) in Ghana

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet and interview guide dated…. for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. ☐

3. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, articles or presentations by the research team. ☐

4. I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations. ☐

5. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

6. I agree to be recorded during the above study. ☐

	Date	Signature
Name of Participant		
Researcher		

Appendix E: Interview Guide (s)

Interview Guide for AGRA Officials

Personal Details:
Name:
Sex:
Position:
Town/City:
Location:
Date of interview:
Duration:

Section A: Economic Status and Poverty Issues		
No	**Questions**	***Prompts/Instruction***
1	What are the main objectives of AGRA towards smallholder farmers' livelihoods?	***a.*** Could you state? **b.** Have you been able to achieve this?
2	What kinds of support do your area of specialisation offer to farmers?	***a.*** List…….
3	From your own perspective, what are the main benefits that your outfit derives from AGRA/philanthropic donations to smallholder farmers? State……	***a.*** Financial benefits in the form of cash? ***b.*** Do they give you money in returns? ***c.*** Technically?
4	In your own estimation, do you think the provision of seeds; fertilizer and other forms of support to smallholder farmers have led to increase yields of farmers on an annual basis?	***a.*** With a scale of 1-10 how do you rate last year's supply of seeds for example?
5	May I ask what your annual expenditure budget is?	***a.*** Name some specific supports **b.** Could you please give me a breakdown of where the funds/projects go to with respect to AGRA?
6	Apart from Bill and Melinda Gate Foundation what are other sources of income for AGRA?	
7	In what way(s) do you think philanthropy is beneficial to individuals and your organisation as a whole?	
8	Can you think of ways in which your organization will (or already has) benefitted from philanthropic donations?	**a.** Please explain.
9	What is your understanding of safeguarding of livelihood?	
10	How is this support from AGRA contributing to livelihood improvement for poverty reduction?	***a.*** *Explain*
11	Do you specifically support or have different packages for vulnerable groups such women, disable etc.?	***a.*** Explain?
12	How are these items such as fertilizers, seeds and many others if you can mention them distributed to the beneficiaries?	**a.** If yes, why?
13	Smallholder farmers have limited access to improved seeds due to high cost and availability, how are you addressing these?	**a.** What measures have been put in place to address this?
14	Smallholder farmers are mostly ignorant of modern	

	methods of farming; could you tell me the level of sensitisation on the need for the adoption of modern technology?	
15	How would working with smallholder farmers through local organisations bring about the transformation of rural agriculture?	
16	Any other issue related to livelihood needs and poverty reduction that you would like to add?	
17	To what extent is philanthropy enough in promoting rural development?	
Section B: Local Institutions and groups		
18	How involved are the local and community as well as farmers in decision making?	**a.** Can you please explain?
19	How is the relationship between smallholder farmers, grantees and AGRA officials?	**a.** Elaborate
20	How is the relationship between AGRA officials, AGRA as an institution and government like?	
21	What is your opinion about the size of the families of these farmers?	**a.** Is the size of family one of the determinants of the nature of your support?
22	What are the main issues that often crop up due to the influence of one's family size or family orientation?	**a.** Could you please state as many as possible?
23	Any conflict encountered as a result of: a. Family disagreement b. Community related disputes c. Any form of conflict	
24	What are the major problems that threaten your working relations of farmers?	
25	Does the family size or the cultural set up of any community in any way influence the pattern of donor recipient's relationship?	**a.** How?
26	Is there any contract between AGRA and these beneficiaries and grantees?	
Section C: Enabling Policy Environment and Barriers		
27	How does the current policy framework(s) of AGRA encourage types of support that are more dependent on external inputs and technologies like yours	
28	How does local knowledge contribute to the design and implementation of these support mechanisms?	
29	What way(s) has philanthropic aids met the expectations and/or needs of this agency?	
30	In what way(s) has philanthropic aids failed to meet the expectations and/or needs of this outfit	**a.** If yes, what form?
31	Describe your view about the involvement of aids in general in the economic liberalisation and development fortunes of Ghana?	
32	What do you think would be the future of philanthropy in the context of your description?	**a.** Could you give any specific example to back your claim?
33	How would you rate the overall success of the involvement of AGRA to the agricultural sector using a scale from one to ten, where one is a complete failure and ten is a total success?	***a.*** Why?
34	How would you explain the view that with or without support your sector would still grow?	
35	In your opinion, how effective do you think AGRA	**a.** Could you explain?

	Support has been in the following? **a.** Creating a safe environment for the sharing of knowledge and expertise with regards to agricultural development **b.** Making local support famers aware of the knowledge, skills, and expertise of modern methods of farming. **c.** Developing the capacity of members to adopt other scientific techniques of doing agriculture	
36	Are there other factors or circumstances that you think contributed to the success (or failure) of philanthropic donations to the agricultural sector? Please explain.	***a.*** Any example?
37	Did you experience any challenges or barriers (e.g., competing priorities, organizational challenges, fund accessibility, technological challenges) that delayed the implementation of your programmes?	
38	Were you able to participate in as many of collaborative working events between you and your philanthropic donors as you wanted to participate in?	**a.** If not, why?
49	Can you think of anything your outfit could do differently to address the challenges or barriers that might keep aid givers from donating?	
40	Are there any other comments you would like to provide?	

Interview Guide for SASSEC, SARI, IFDC, LEXBOK AND HERITAGE SEEDS

Personal Details:
Name:
Sex:
Position:
Town/City:
Contact:
Location:
Date of interview:
Duration:

Section A: Economic Status and Poverty Issues		
No	**Questions**	***Prompts/Instruction***
1	What are your duties and responsibilities?	
2	What exactly do you coordinate on behalf of AGRA?	
3	What is the duration of your project under AGRA?	**a.** What happens after the completion of the project?
4	How long have you been involved in this?	
5	How many grants have you received from AGRA in the past?	

6	What are the targets or objectives set by AGRA for your outfit?	
7	Have you met these objectives?	**a.** With a scale of 1-10 how do you rate last year's performance?
8	How many projects are you supervising for AGRA?	**a.** Could you name them? **b.** What is the duration?
9	What are you doing to improve the livelihoods and technical skills of smallholder farmers to scale up the applications of technologies for their farming?	
10	How many farmers or beneficiaries directly benefit from this support?	**a.** Any figure?
11	How are these items such as fertilizers, seeds and many others if you can mention them distributed to the beneficiaries?	**a.** How often do you give these inputs?
12	In your own estimation, do you think the provision of seeds; fertilizer and other forms of support to smallholder farmers have led to increase yields of farmers on an annual basis?	**a.** Please can you provide any figure for last year for example?
13	Do you have any idea of the increase in yield per hectare due to your involvement through the provision of the following? a. Seeds b. Funds c. Tractors d. Others	
14	What is the relationship between AGRA and its beneficiary like?	
15	What is the nature of these beneficiaries that you supervised?	
16	What do you understand by safeguarding of livelihoods?	
17	What is your understanding of livelihood improvement in poverty reduction?	
18	What is your general opinion about philanthropy, how has AGRA's initiatives affected the livelihoods of smallholder farmers?	**a.** Elaborate
19	In your view can we say these initiatives are leading to poverty reduction?	**a.** Explain.
Section B: Barriers to Community Participation		
20	What do you see as barriers to your attraction of grants or philanthropic support for your agency?	
21	How are you eliminating these barriers?	
22	Is there anything you would like to add?	

Interview Guide for Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA)

Personal Details:
Name:
Sex:
Position:
Contact:
Location:
Date of interview:
Duration:

Section A: Economic Status, Policy and Poverty Issues		
No	**Questions**	***Prompts/Instruction***
1	What are your duties/responsibilities?	
2	Farming is a key component and a resource of livelihoods for poverty reduction. What is the history and major types of farming in this district?	
3	What is the role of this Ministry in the improvement of the conditions of smallholder farmers?	**a.** Please provide specific examples
4	What is the government of Ghana objectives to achieving food security and become agro industrial economy?	**a.**
5	What is the government policy on using philanthropy to improve the livelihoods of smallholder?	**b.** What is the official government policy on this?
6	What are some of the measures put in place to address inadequate extension services and poor research linkages which limit farmers' access to knowledge of oil management?	
7	How adequate are the agricultural market systems to address high post-harvest losses, limited processing, and facilities for storage?	
8	What is the mechanism by this outfit seeking to combat the high transaction costs due to inadequate road and transportation infrastructure?	
9	What is the government doing to reduce poverty in this area through philanthropy?	
10	What would you comment on the ownership structure of philanthropic agencies in this area?	***a.*** Could you provide some names of these institutions?
Section B: Barriers to Community participation		
11	What do you see as barriers to local community attraction of philanthropic support?	
12	How is the government trying to eliminate these barriers?	
13	What is the government doing to empower communities to actively participate and benefit from philanthropic agencies such as AGRA?	
14	How do you understand by safeguarding of livelihoods?	
15	How is high poverty incidence in the Northern Region, for example, impacting on rural development?	
16	Are issues such as land, culture, gender and religion affecting rural development?	**a.** Elaborate
17	How are you eliminating these barriers?	
18	Anything else you would like to add to this discussion	

Interview Guide for AGRA Beneficiary Farmers

Personal data of respondent
Name:
Sex:
Age:
Level of Education:
Occupation:
Position in Society:
Type of household:
Years the respondent has lived in the study area:
Marital status:
Number of children:
Total number of people currently living in your household:
Location:
Date of interview:
Duration:

Section A: Economic Status and Poverty Issues		
No	**Questions**	***Prompts/Instruction***
1	What are the main economic activities here in this community?	**a.** List as many as possible
2	What is the importance of farming activities in peoples' daily lives?	
3	Why do you engage in farming activities as oppose to any other job?	**a.** Explain
4	What type of crop(s) do you produce?	
5	How many acres of farm land do you have?	
6	What are the sizes of these farms?	
7	How is land distributed or owned in your community?	
8	In your own understanding, how has philanthropy in affected your livelihood? What is poverty? What causes of poverty here?	**a.** Elaborate
9	Please talk about any programs you know of that, the government or any other agency is carrying out here to safeguard your livelihoods?	**a.** Please state some….
10	What is your main source of income?	
	How many people in your household earn wages?	
11	Is your income sufficient to meet your basic needs and those of your family?	**a.** If yes, how? If not, why not?
12	Could you talk about self-help community projects speared headed by (women groups, youth organisations, widows etc.)?	
13	How do people cope (survive or deal with) with high levels of poverty here? [What activities do they engage in as a result of being in poverty?]	**a.** Probe further on crime, prostitutions (be careful).
14	What is your understanding of AGRA?	
15	What is/are the level of support that you received from AGRA?	**a.** Which form are these supports? **b.** Could you state any? **c.** As a percentage, how much of your farming is borne by AGRA and how much is without their support bought?
16	How long have you been involved with AGRA/philanthropic initiatives?	**a.** Elaborate
17	Do you have any difficulties or issues with AGRA or	

	accessing your allocation(s), as an idea and in practice?	**a.** Elaborate
18	Would you say that seeds, fertilizer, soft loans, and other imputes from AGRA have led to an increase productivity of your farming?	
19	What contributions do you think? AGRA has made to your farming?	
20	What impact do you think AGRA has had on community farming in this community?	
21	Do your cultural background and the nature of farming in this community come into conflict with AGRA and its projects?	
22	Could you tell me an idea about your annual gains?	
23	Does AGRA provide more economic opportunity for you?	**a.** If yes, what are some of these economic opportunities? If not, why do you think are the reasons for not getting such?
24	What other factors impacts on your faming?	
Section B: Local Institutions, groups and community livelihoods		
25	How involved are the local and community in AGRA projects and in decision making?	**b.** Can you please explain?
26	How is the relationship between you and AGRA officials?	**a.** Elaborate
27	What is the relationship between the size of your family and your ability to attract this support?	**b.** Is the size of family one of the determinants of the nature of your support?
28	What are the main issues that often crop up due to the influence of one's family size or family orientation?	**b.** Could you please state as many as possible?
29	Any conflict encountered as a result of: d. Family disagreement e. Community related disputes f. Any form of conflict	
30	What are the major problems that threaten your working relations with AGRA?	
31	Is your family size the main determinant of the scale of production?	***a.*** State**……**
32	What type of tools do you use or are provided by AGRA?	
33	How has AGRA's support improved your health or education standards or those of the local community here?	
Section C: Barriers to community participation		
34	What do you see as barriers to your attraction of grants or philanthropic support for yourself and Community?	
35	In your opinion, please what do you think are some of the possible ways of eliminating these barriers?	
36	Is there anything you would like to add?	

Interview Guide for Farmers Who Do Not Receive Any Benefit

Personal data of respondent
Name:
Sex:
Age:
Level of Education:
Occupation:
Position in Society:
Type of household:
Years the respondent has lived in the study area:
Marital status:
Number of children:
Total number of people currently living in your household:
Location:
Date of interview:
Duration:

Section A: Economic Status and Poverty Issues		
No	**Questions**	***Prompts/Instruction***
1	What are the main economic activities here in this community?	**b.** List as many as possible
2	What is the importance of farming activities in people's daily lives?	
3	Why do you engage in farming activities as oppose to any other job?	**b.** Explain
4	What type of crop(s) do you produce?	
5	How many acres and types farms do you have?	
6	What are the sizes of these farms?	
7	How is land distributed or owned in your community?	
8	In your own understanding, how has philanthropy in affected your livelihood? What is poverty? What causes of poverty here?	**b.** Elaborate
9	Please talk about any programs you know of that, the government or any other agency is carrying out here to safeguard your livelihoods?	**b.** Please state some….
10	What is your main source of income?	
11	How many people in your household earn wages?	
12	Is your income sufficient to meet your basic needs and those of your family?	**b.** If yes, how? If not, why not?
13	How do people cope (survive or deal with) with high levels of poverty here? [What activities do they engage in as a result of being in poverty?]	**b.** Probe further on crime, prostitutions (be careful).
14	How easy it is to be sponsoring your own farming?	
15	Could you tell me an idea about your annual gains?	**a.** Do you think any form of financial support could have made you better off? If yes, name any kind that you think could have aided you?

16	What is the average output in terms of bags having you harvested this year?	
17	What other factors impacts on your faming?	**a.** What are some of the bottlenecks? **b.** Government **c.** Policy **d.** Tradition
18	Would you say that you would have been better off if you to receive some form of support from agencies such as AGRA	
19	Do you know of any Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO)/Community based? Organisations (CBO), religious organisations, working in the poverty reduction field?	
20	Could you talk about self-help community projects speared headed by (women groups, youth organisations, widows etc.)?	

Section B: Local Institutions, groups and community livelihoods

21	Is your family size the main determinant of the scale of production?	**a.** State……
22	How involved are the local and community in farming and in decision making regarding the type of farming that you are involved?	**a.** Can you please explain?
23	What is the relationship between the size of your family and your ability to farm?	**a.** Is the size of family one of the determinants of the nature of your support?
24	Any conflict encountered as a result of: a. Family disagreement b. Community related disputes c. Any form of conflict	
25	What are the major problems that threaten your ability to farm?	
26	What type of tools do you use?	
27	What kind of assistant do you think can help to improve your local community people's livelihood?	**a.** State……
28	How has the conditions of your health or education improve over the years since you virtually sponsoring your own farming or those of the local community here?	
29	Does government provide more economic opportunity for you?	**a.** If yes, what are some of these economic opportunities? **b.** If not, why do you think are the reasons for not getting such?
30	Is government playing these roles now?	**a.** If yes, how? If not, why not?
31	Is there anything else that you would like to add to this to discussion?	

Section C: Barriers to Community participation

32	What do you see as barriers to your attraction of grants or philanthropic support for yourself and Community?	
33	In your opinion, please what do you think are some of the possible ways of eliminating these barriers?	
34	Is there anything you would like to add?	

Appendix F: Consent Form in Dagbanli Language

Participant Identification Number:

CONSENT FORM

The new philanthropy and smallholder farmers'*: A Case Study of Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) in Ghana*

Name of Researcher : **Sumaila Issaka Asuru**

Institution : School of Social and International Studies, University of Bradford, UK

Contact information : 07467879996 – S.I.Asuru@bradford.ac.uk

Please initial box

1. Nsaɤti ninkarimya kagbai lahbasali din nye bohasi gulu, dabsili yaakaza…….zaŋchaŋ karim shali din bɛ satirili ŋɔni. N nyɛ sɔŋsim zaŋchaŋ lahabaŋɔ, n bohibohasi ka nya niŋtiɤli labsibu ti bohasima ☐
2. Nbaŋya nin noo pahbu pala kinkansi kalin Baŋ nitoi yilihi ŋ-nuwa sahaboli kam kabi ti dalivi shali ☐
3. N baŋya kamani lahbali shali kam niti, dintooi zaŋtum tuma sahashali lahbali tibupuli, gbana sabbu ni. Vihiviturib ni tooi zaŋ wuhi niriba ☐
4. N baŋya nikam nyuli kuyina lahbali tibpuuni, ni gbana sabbuni bee niribi zaŋwuli puuni ☐
5. N saɤti nini pahihi vihigu ŋɔ puuni ☐
6. N saɤti nini paɤi kavelgi karimbu ŋɔ puuni ☐

	Date	Signature
Name of Participant		
Researcher		

Appendix G: Interview Guide for AGRA Beneficiary Farmers in Dagbanli Language

Personal data of respondent
Name:
Sex:
Age:
Level of Education:
Occupation:
Position in Society:
Type of household:
Years the respondent has lived in the study area:
Marital status:
Number of children:
Total number of people currently living in your household:
Location:
Date of interview:
Duration

Section A: Economic Status and Poverty Issues		
No	Questions	Prompts/Instruction
1	Azi zini puni tundin nim ka yi tumda	**c.** puhini Zaɤpubgu diyi galsii
2	Pukpari dini nmaliyaa pam ya-nyɔ	
3	Wula ka yiyaa zoo pukparigu kali kam	**c.** Puuhi di zaa
4	Bin dindisi kayi kosa?	
5	Yika dibaala ka amaala	
6	A puu kalisim paa pewula	
7	Banim Jandi su tin gbanaa	
8	A baŋbi puuni Suŋsim mali Taɤbu a bɛhgu puuni? Bon nyɛ fasa? Bon dahsi Farana?	**c.** Kahgimli
9	Punbo ka gomdanti bɛ Zingama zuɤ nim tum di yaŋɔ din gaŋgu bɛhagu bɛhagu ni ninsali tali	c. puuhimi shaŋa
10	So, din ka doli nyɛsi paɤsi	

11	Nisibi ala nbɛ ayiŋ don doŋhi dɛsi yosi	a. Din nyɛla be desa wula. Ka bibi dɛsi bontahli
12	N too tima lahbali Jandi Maŋsuŋsim tuma Di nyɛ paɤba laɤ gbai?	
13	Wula ka niriba tooi bɛc behagu ŋɔ ni to Laɤ pooli ŋɔ (a) Boha Jandi tali tubu, Jaɤmili tali	a. Boha Jandi tali tubu, Jaɤmili tali
14	A haŋkali nyɛ din zaŋchang AGRA poolo?	
15	Bonibo can nanyɛ AGRA Saani (a).	a. Bobali bo b. Bolimi di yuya c. Kobgi pobu puuni soNsim wula ka nya AGRA Saani?
16	Yuma alaa ka mini AGRA tum?	a. Buɤsima
17	Amali yali muɤsira zaŋchauŋ AGRA Saani Kaman dihigu polo	b. Buɤsima
18	A Suɤti tin i binbira, kulum, ni din pahipahi Suŋ pukparigu yaŋɔ	
19	Bo Suŋsim ka AGRA Suŋa chaŋ a puuni	
20	Bo Suŋsim ka tɛhi AGRA mala zaŋ tinkansi pukpari potɔ	
21	Din boŋɔ yipukpari mini yi kaya ni da a da mali nugsigu	
22	Ka tima lahbali zaŋ chaŋ a gbaai bu polo	
23	Din boŋɔ AGRA suŋ chaŋ kohamba ni lɛbginsim ntaa	a. Dinya yalmanli, kabonlenya anfani sili anya? Dimi nipayalmanli, kabonletahli kaabinyali?
24	Bonibo n'suŋ a puu maani	
25	Section B	

Section B: Local Institutions, groups and community livelihoods		
26	Bola din nbɛ amini AGRA kpamba sunsuni	c. Dimsuglo yelnee dinyasem?
27	Azi zini puni tundin nim ka yi tumda (g) puhini Zaɤpubgu diyi galsii	**b.** Neema yetoɤaŋo
28	Bonlenya adang yalim miniayan ningsem nvo sonsim npka apolo.	**c.** Dinboŋo adanyalig zugu nnya ambori songsilimaa?
29	Bonlenya yalkpansenŋa dinyirina dinya puhipana Din yan pkansi adang zosim bee adang yalim?	**c.** Dimsuglo bolimi la yalpkanamaaani tonyan semtariga?
30	Dinboŋo zabliSali kana kadinyala: g. Dang nabganpkeni h. Zizeenitaba nabganpkeni	
31	Bonlenya yepkee mugsirili den valsira atuma mini AGRA sunsuni?	
32	Dinboŋo adang yalim nyuhiri ayanma zaasa ni nyasim ?	b. Neema……
33	Bonlee nya pkaa senŋa nya bee AGRA nimtaah?	
34	Wula ka AGRA sonsimaa song nlebgi nsong adaalafei bee abansim pkansibu bee bimbe tinpkasiŋo?	
Section C: Barriers to community participation		
35	Bo kaalenya denya sogurugu zanpka anyama zanpka AGRA bee songsim zanpka amang polo dimini ayanima?	
36	Dimsuglo ahankali puuni bokaletehira dinyantoo vuyi la soguraam zaa?	
37	Dinboŋo amali pahugu seli napahi?	

Appendix H: Interview Guide for Farmers Who Do Not Receive Any Benefit in Dagbanli Language

Personal data of respondent
Name:
Sex:
Age:
Level of Education:
Occupation:
Position in Society:
Type of household:
Years the respondent has lived in the study area:
Marital status:
Number of children:
Total number of people currently living in your household:
Location:
Date of interview:
Duration:

Section A: Economic Status and Poverty Issues		
No	Questions	Prompts/Instruction
1	Azi zini puni tundin nim ka yi tumda	**a.** puhini Zaɤpubgu diyi galsii
2	Pukpari dini nmaliyaa pam ya-nyɔ	
3	Bozugu kazang azagu ni pupkaruguni ngari tumazaa?	**a.** Neema yatogamaa
4	Bin dindisi kayi kosa?	
5	Yika dibaala ka amaala	
6	A puu kalisim paa pewula	
7	Banim Jandi su tin gbanaa	
8	A baŋbi puuni Suŋsim mali Taɤbu a bɛhgu puuni? Bon nyɛ fasa? Bon dahsi Farana?	**a.** Kahgimli
9	Punbo ka gomdanti bɛ Zingama zuɤ nim tum di yaŋɔ din gaŋgu bɛhagu bɛhagu ni ninsali tali	**a.** puuhimi shaŋa
10	Anyama soli nyala yula?	
11	AYing puni niribala nnyari bidintoli bindrigu?	
12	Anyamamaa nisaga kanito yuli asulinsi naamang bimbora?	**a.** Din nyɛla be desa wula. Ka bibi dɛsi bontahli
13	Wula ka niriba tooi bɛc behagu ŋɔ ni to Laɤ pooli ŋɔ?	**a.** Boha Jandi tali tubu, Jaɤmili tali
14	Soochibo nlebe asonŋ amaŋa pupkarugu puni?	

15	Antoyalima yuni puuni anyrisim amang sonbuni?	**b.** Anlihimaa didinig kadiyanya sonsim dinatoi che kati tooni ngari ambi nyamaa? Dinya yamanli bolimi dindiyan duha sem?
16	Ako nyigsima pkalan saala kaa nya akobu ma puuni?	
17	K abo kale nya din yan pkansa zan pka aniribi nimni?	**a.** Kabo nle nya agogalga nim seba? **b.** Govnanti **c.** Polinsi **d.** Nanima
18	Anto yeli ni ana titoni didinig ka adi yannya sonsim zanpka AGRS nim polo.	
19	N mi ʒengama zuɣu yili laɣingu mini ban ni tooi sɔŋ tuhiri fara.	
20	Sɔŋsim tuun' dini n-lee be yaŋɔ, ka nyɛ paɣibi nangbanyini laɣingu	

Section B: Local Institutions, groups and community livelihoods

21	A daŋ galisim n-wuhiri a kpaŋmaŋa,	**a.** kahgimli……
22	1) Tuma mini tin kpalisi nuu be a pukparigu puuni?	**a.** Dimsuglo kahgimli?
23	2) Wula n-nyɛ a daŋ galisim ni yi yaa tariga kopuuni	**a.** Aniriba zosim nyuhiri anyanya songsim sem?
24	Dinboŋo zabliSali kana kadinyala: i. Dang nabganpkeni j. Zizeenitaba nabganpkeni k. Bee dinkulyan tahi zablina	
25	Mugsirili bonlee kul valsira apupkarilim puuni?	
26	Pkanibo kamali tumda?	
27	Sonsimbo kanito nsong ayanima dinyanlibigi be behisung?	**a.** Kahgimli ……
28	Kuwu kaadalafe meni abohumbu lebgubu pahi dinig kaasondi amagmaa yumaŋomaa puumi ampili nsogdi amanga bee ayama puuni?	

29	Dinboŋo Govnanti zangdi sonsim dinyanlibgi nyama polo?	**a.** Dinya yalmanli kasogsim dinima ka osonda? **b.** Dimpa yalmanli kabonlee tahili kaabinyari laasonsimaa?
30	Dinboŋo Govnanti tumdi dintu notumsem?	**a.** Dinya yalmanli wu? Dimpa yalmanli wula zugu?
31	Dinboŋo amali pahugu seli napahi yatogaŋo puni?	
<u>Section C: Barriers to Community participation</u>		
32	Bo kaalenya denya sogurugu zanpka anyama zanpka AGRA bee songsim zanpka amang polo dimini ayanima?	
33	Dimsuglo ahankali puuni bokaletehira dinyantoo vuyi la soguraam zaa?	
34	Dinboŋo amali pahugu seli napahi?	

Appendix I: Sources (Key Informants)

Name	Date
Dr. Issoufou Kapran. Program Officer, Seed Production&Dissemination	30/06/2014).
Dr. Kehinde Makinde, Program Officer, Agro-dealer Development and Country Officer	30/06/2014
Dr. Abuabakari Toure, Programme officer for Seeds Breedings	30/06/2014
Mr. Seth Abu-Bonsrah, Program Officer - M&E	30/06/2014
Mr Wilson Doku, Manager of AVCF (Agricultural Value Chain Facility	30/06/2014
Mrs. Genevieve Deamesi, Executive Director AGRA Ghana.	30/06/2014
Mr. John Sey, Manager of FOSCA (Farmer Organization Support Centre in Africa)	21/07/ 2014)
Mr. Richard Boadu – ADRA, Project Manager and Coordinator for Northern Ghana Projects at ADRA	19/07/2014
Dr. Wilson Dogbe, Productivity Manager of the AVCMP Project.	04/07/ 2015
Mr. Edem Hololo, Principal Technical Officer- Savanna Agricultural Research Institute	05/08/2014
Mr. Eleazar Krofa, Technical Officer	05/08/2014 and 06/08/2014
Madam Ohene Ampofo Afua – AVCMP (Agriculture Value Chain and Mentorship Project Manager)	14/07/ 2014) and 14/06/2014).
Mr. Alex Bokuma, Chief Executive Officer- LEXBOX	18 July2014
Mr Apullah Patrick, General Manager of SASSEC (Savanna Seed Services Company)	27July 2014 and 05/08/2014
Mr. Karim Musah, District Agric Officer.	06/08/2014
Mr. Awusi Maham Nantoma, Deputy Regional Coordinator-Ministry of Food and Agriculture	17/07/ 2014).
Mr. Ahmed Tijani, Regional Administrator-Ministry of Food and Agriculture	08/08/2014
Mr. Alhassan Ibrahim;zaayuri-naa' (spokesperson to the chief) of Dungu	23/7/2014).
Interview with Naa Salifu Nindoo, Chief of Dungu,	21/06/2014
Mr. Sampson Nibor, 62 years and a linguist to the chief of the Cheshe	21/07/2014).
Interview with Amidu, Chief Imam of Cheshe	23/07/2014)
Interview with focus groups and field notes	21/06/014).
Interview with non-recipient farmers	26/07/2014), 17/06/2014) and 22/06/2014).
Interview with AGRA recipient farmers	23/07/ 2014) and 21/06/2014
Interview with Nuhu Amidu, Chief Imam of Cheshe	23/07/2014).
Mr. Azimdoo Salisu, 51 years, Male and a Unit Committee Representative, Dungu	17/07/2014
Name	Date